Permanent and Temporary Migration Differentials in China

Sidney Goldstein
and Alice Goldstein

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ABSTRACT Urban development and migration policies in China have greatly limited permanent migration to cities, especially to bigger ones. In recent years, however, largely as a result of economic reforms, temporary migration has become a major mechanism of population exchange. Data from the 1986 Survey of Migration in 74 Cities and Towns of China, sponsored by the Chinese Academy of Social Science, provide a unique opportunity to evaluate the volume and direction of temporary movement, the reasons for it, and the sociodemographic differences between temporary and permanent migrants living in China's cities and towns.

In urban places temporary movement (that is, movement within the previous year) has become numerically more important than permanent migration. A majority of the temporary migrants had been living at their destinations for less than one month at the time of the survey. Temporary migrants were much more likely than recent (1985–86) permanent in-migrants to have originated in rural areas, and many more of the former were peasants. These differentials indicate the role of temporary migration as a mechanism for rural populations to take advantage of opportunities in cities, as well as the impact of government policies in determining who may move officially to the cities. Overall, the findings indicate that temporary migration has come to complement and in some cases to substitute for permanent migration in allowing the Chinese population to cope with its rural labor surplus and to satisfy its strong desire for urban amenities.

Developing countries are undergoing sharp increases in the size of their urban populations, their levels of urbanization, and their number of cities, especially big cities, while also experiencing continuing rural growth (UN 1987). By 1985, the urban population of the less developed countries (LDCs) had reached 1.1 billion; and the level of urbanization had increased to 31 percent, from only 17 percent in 1950 (UN 1989:4–7). The LDC urban population is projected to reach 4.1 billion by the year 2025 and to include over half of all LDC people. Moreover, projections anticipate that the number of million-plus cities will increase from 146 in 1985 to almost 500 by 2025, and that 114 of those cities will be in the 4 million-plus category (UN 1985:116–117). This situation presents a complex set of developments to challenge research and policy formulation and points to the pressing need for attention to population distribution and movement.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MIGRATION IN URBAN GROWTH

Migration's importance as a component of rural and urban population change is attested to by the magnitude of the number of persons involved. According to an estimate by the World Bank (1984:97), between 1950 and 1975, 330 million persons, a number greater than the total urban population in 1950, shifted residence from rural to urban places. Yet these esti-

mates encompass only a portion of all population movement, since they are net statistics and also exclude temporary migrants as well as movers within rural areas and between urban places. Migration, excluding the births attributable to migrant parents, has come to account for about 40 percent of all LDC urban growth (UN 1980:23), although this percentage varies among countries. Its importance in accounting for differential rates of growth and for the composition of urban and rural places seems likely to increase as LDC fertility is brought increasingly under control.

Compounding the complexities of the role of permanent migration in urban growth and development is the simultaneous flow of temporary migrants into urban places. A growing body of evidence (Chapman and Prothero 1983) suggests that such movement, largely of circular migrants who return to rural areas on a regular basis, plays a key role in the adjustment strategies of individuals and households to changing conditions at origin and destination. The importance of such movement was recognized by the Mexico Declaration on Population and Development, which urged that governments "take into account the policy implications of various forms of population mobility (e.g., circular, seasonal, rural–rural, and urban–urban, as well as rural–urban) to consider the direction, duration, and characteristics of these movements" (UN 1986:157).

Although urbanization, migration, and population distribution generally are topics of intense concern in much of the world (UN 1988), progress in understanding the dynamics of mobility has been hampered by poor conceptualization, misleading perspectives on the issues, and data deficiencies (S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein 1981; Findley 1982). The situation is improving as more attention is paid to refinement of concepts, coverage of both permanent and temporary migration, and collection and analysis of better data. The People's Republic of China is among the many developing countries in which population redistribution has assumed increased importance in both demographic change and national development. China's leaders are particularly concerned about the growth of big cities and have introduced various policies—direct and indirect—to control migration to them and to divert movement elsewhere. Because of such strict control of permanent relocation, temporary population movement has become an important mechanism for coping with rural pressures and meeting urban labor force and service needs. This paper focuses on the extent and character of such temporary migration in comparison with permanent migration, and on the roles both have played in China's urbanization in the 1980s.

Of the one billion persons enumerated in China's 1982 census, 206 million were living in 244 cities and 2,660 other urban places. China's 20.6 percent level of urbanization in mid-1982 was thus not very high compared with that of developing areas as a whole (32 percent), but the number of people living in China's urban places alone was more than the total population of all but three countries in the world. Coupled with the fact that

almost 800 million persons still lived in rural areas and were engaged in largely agricultural activities, China's urbanization situation has become particularly challenging from a policy perspective.

Since 1982, the reported level of urbanization in China has risen dramatically. A July 1989 State Statistical Bureau report indicated the number of cities had reached 434 and the size of the population designated as urban had risen to 540 million (*China Daily*, 7 October 1989). Much of this growth was artificial, however, reflecting the reclassification of many places as cities as a result of boundary changes that often encompassed large rural areas, and also liberalization of the criteria for classifying smaller locations as towns and therefore designating them as urban places. The "true" number of urban people remains to be determined.

As in other developing countries, considerable motivation exists among China's rural population to move into cities. Substantial differences characterize the quality of life between urban and rural places, despite ostensible efforts to reduce them (Johnson 1988). In fact, Chinese policies have often served to accentuate the differences. Urban places have been characterized by higher incomes, better housing, sanitation facilities, educational opportunities, subsidized food, more varied entertainment, and greater availability of consumer goods. Urban job security has been more stable than rural, and a wide range of benefits have been associated with employment in State-owned enterprises. All these have served as powerful magnets for peasants, whose annual incomes depend on the vagaries of weather and, until the 1980s, on income-distribution decisions by the collective leadership of the communes. Some of these conditions have been changing as a result of economic liberalization in China. Nonetheless, the attraction of urban places for peasants is likely to remain strong (Zhu and Wang 1985).

Beginning in the early 1950s, with the establishment of the commune system, peasants were effectively tied to rural areas, and migration to cities was generally controlled through the household registration system. (For a detailed discussion, see S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein 1985.) Nonetheless, during periods of great urban expansion, especially in the 1950s, vast numbers of peasants moved to cities to augment the local labor force needed for the growing industrial enterprises. Tens of thousands were sent back after the Great Leap Forward, but many others remained and became registered residents.

After the turmoil and dislocations of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76), Chinese policymakers renewed their efforts to control the growth of cities in conjunction with national development goals. The 1982 Urban Distribution Policy prescribed strict control of large cities, rational development of medium cities, and encouragement of the growth of small cities and towns. As a corollary of this policy, migration to big cities was to be strictly limited; to medium cities, carefully controlled; and to small cities and towns, encouraged. Movement between places of similar size was possible and

mobility from a larger to a smaller place was encouraged.

Although urban-development and migration policies have limited permanent migration and tried to direct population away from cities, recent changes in economic policies have greatly stimulated population mobility and attracted people to cities. Since 1978, when the household responsibility system was introduced in rural areas, dramatic changes have taken place both in the social and economic quality of life and in population dynamics. Under the new system, land is allocated to households or individuals under contract to the collective. Domestic sideline production was not only legalized but also encouraged. Peasants are allowed to keep their domestic sideline products and the surplus of basic agricultural produce beyond what is required by contract. Use of these surplus products is unrestricted. (For a detailed discussion of the new policies, see Gray and White 1982; S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein 1985).

These changes have offered peasants major incentives to expand production. In addition to meeting their own needs and the contract specifications, peasants have increasingly had surplus agricultural and domestic sideline products that need markets to realize their economic value. In addition, under the newly introduced policy of "Activate the internal economy and open to the world," cities have opened free markets to peasants. Peasants have been allowed to enter the commercial channels and engage in long-distance trade. They are also being allowed to work temporarily in cities through individual or collective contracts with urban work units.

Thus, although permanent migration has continued to be strictly controlled, rural-to-urban temporary migration has become possible in both urban and rural areas. As exchange and trade centers, cities naturally have attracted peasants, who bring their surplus products for sale; as centers of extensive new construction without sufficient numbers of construction workers, cities attract rural construction teams, who supplement the urban construction labor force; and facing a lack of adequate daily services, urban places attract peasants who are engaged in self-employed informal activities such as household repairs, personal services, and domestic help (Yang 1985). Consequently, temporary migration has increased rapidly. For example, the total number of circulators in Beijing on 20 April 1985 was estimated at 880,000 (Du 1986); by December 1986, they had passed the one-million mark (*People's Daily,* Overseas Edition, 20 December 1986). Most big cities experience similar influxes of temporary migrants (Huang 1985).

Clearly, internal population movement not only represents a response to economic development, but is also greatly affected by government policies. As a result, the low level of permanent migration documented by the household registration statistics fails to reflect the true level of population mobility in China in the 1980s. A large proportion of rural-urban population mobility assumes the form of temporary movement. Attention to such movement is therefore essential to any assessment of changes in the so-

cial, economic, and political situation in urban and rural China and of the overall urbanization process.

SOURCES OF DATA

Broad assessment of migration in China has been limited by a paucity of data. Few definitive national data sets on migration have become available to researchers assessing population movement in China (S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein 1990a). This has been due in part to the decentralized nature of the statistical record-keeping system, in part to the widely held belief that, since migration was largely controlled through the registration system, the local registration statistics were adequate to provide whatever information was needed. Reflecting this latter assumption, the 1982 census did not include any direct questions about migration. Until the late 1980s, therefore, researchers interested in migration had to rely heavily on localized data, either from registration statistics or from surveys intended to fill gaps in the existing data systems.[1]

In China, a migrant is officially considered a permanent resident in the new location only if the move involved a change in household registration. Persons living in cities who are not de jure residents of those cities are not counted as part of the city population in any enumeration based on household registers. Since de facto residents of cities may be numerous and different in their socioeconomic and demographic characteristics from de jure residents, their omission from urban registers and statistics distorts the data on the size and composition of urban places, as well as the data on the rural populations at places of origin. To the extent that temporary population movement is increasingly important in China's cities, its omission from official enumerations of urban populations undoubtedly leads to substantial underenumeration of the de facto populations of such places.

Although the 1982 census did not include a direct question on migration, officials recognized that the registration system could yield misleading results. The census therefore identified separately and counted as residents persons who had been living in a given locality for more than one year, even though they were registered elsewhere, as well as those residing in the locality for less than one year but absent from their place of registration for more than one year. Persons who went from rural places to a city or another county temporarily for work or other activities and who came back frequently were enumerated in their place of household registration.

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1. In addition to the 1986 Chinese Academy of Social Science survey, which constitutes the basis of this paper, two other surveys undertaken in the late 1980s contain information on national migration patterns. The 1987 1% National Sample Survey and the 1988 2/1000 National Sample Survey of Fertility and Contraceptive Use both included questions on migration, but at the time of this writing, these data have not been exploited for the insight they can provide on population redistribution.

Thus temporary migrants of short duration (less than one year) were not identified as residents at destination.

Among the 1,002 million persons enumerated by the 1982 census (excluding military personnel and the populations of Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and Tibet), 98.9 percent (990.7 million) were living in their place of registration (China, SSB, 1985:558–559). Of the remainder, 6.4 million persons were residing in places where they had lived for more than one year without permanent registration and 4.8 million reported residence with registration still to be settled. Only a small number (210,000) were reported as residing in the particular location at which they were enumerated for less than one year but absent continuously from their legal place of registration for more than one year.

These figures attest to a substantial number of mobile persons, even though they constituted only about 1 percent of the total population. Many more were, in fact, mobile; some had officially changed their place of residence and therefore were not identified as migrants, but counted as living in their place of registration. Others, who had been away from their place of registration intermittently or for less than one year and who had not changed registration, were counted as living at place of origin and were not identified as migrants. Thus even after the 1982 census, Chinese officials still knew little about the extent and character of population movement in the years preceding the census.

In response to the need for a better data base on migration, both permanent and temporary, in June 1984 the population research center of the Chinese Academy of Social Science (CASS), with support from the United Nations Population Fund, organized a workshop to explore ways to undertake surveys to assess the extent and patterns of migration, including temporary mobility. The workshop and several pilot surveys culminated in a series of provincial studies undertaken during September to December 1986 by 13 participating provincial academies and three universities. In all, 25,538 households in 43 cities and 31 towns in 16 provinces were included in the survey (Appendix Table A). These households encompassed 100,267 persons, representing about 43.5 million urban Chinese.

The survey questionnaire consisted of five sections, covering various types of migrants as well as nonmigrants: (1) permanent residents; (2) in-migrants since 1949, with or without registration but living in their location more than one year; (3) earlier out-migrants who had returned after being absent for more than one year (long-term temporary out-migrants), as well as those who had been away for any length of time during 1986 (short-term temporary out-migrants); (4) temporary residents, those not registered in the survey city or town and living in such a location less than one year; and (5) out-migrants since 1949 or since the household was established, who had not returned. The survey thereby provides the basis for identifying and assessing the migration status of all household mem-

bers since 1949 and for comparing the characteristics of various types of migrants.

For each household member, standard information on sociodemographic characteristics was obtained, including relationship to head, age, sex, place of birth and its urban/rural status, nationality, marital status, fertility, education, occupation, type of ownership (State, collective, or private), and income in 1978 and 1986. For in-migrants, place of birth, type of origin, age at move, education and occupation at time of move, reasons for move and comparative conditions before and after the move were ascertained. For return migrants, the information collected included frequency of moves since 1949 that involved an absence of one year or more, as well as absences during 1986 that extended over one or more days. The dates of last move (for long and short term), destinations, and reasons for move were ascertained. Temporary migrants were classified by duration of residence within the one-year maximum specified by this migration category, along with socioeconomic characteristics, origin, date of in-migration, and reasons for move. Finally, for out-migrants who had not returned, information was collected on socioeconomic characteristics at the time of outmigration, destination and date of move, and reasons for move.

An overall sampling rate of 2 percent was the goal of the survey. To allow for adequate numbers from smaller places, however, the sampling fraction was increased in the smaller places and decreased in the larger ones (see Appendix Table B). Since data in the published volume are not weighted to account for the differential sampling ratios by size of place, it is not possible on the basis of the published data to combine different categories of cities and towns to obtain appropriately weighted totals for all of China. Except for Table 1, therefore, only data for separate city-size categories are presented.

The field work was carried out in collaboration with 12 population research institutes of provincial academies of social science, one population research institution directly under the jurisdiction of a provincial administration, and three institutions of higher learning. Data processing was undertaken at the provincial level and then aggregated by the State Planning Commission in Beijing. Several provincial checks on the age–sex structure of the respective sampled locations as well as comparison with data from a national sample suggest the high quality of the CASS data (Ma and Wang 1988:303–313, 327–331).

Although not constituting a representative national sample, the CASS study is the most geographically comprehensive effort yet undertaken in China to assess migration in relation to urbanization. Coming during a period of major economic changes, the results of the survey provide important insights into the success of efforts to control the growth of big cities and to foster the development of smaller ones and especially of towns. In this context, the attention given to both permanent and temporary migra-

tion provides a unique opportunity to assess the extent to which these different forms of population mobility are used to cope with economic change, and the extent to which individuals with different socioeconomic characteristics are involved in one or the other. That the surveys were conducted in cities of various sizes and in towns enhances their value by allowing assessment of differences in patterns and the ways in which those are related to the urban hierarchy. City size categories were defined as follows: giant cities had populations of one million or more; large cities had 500,000 to one million inhabitants; medium cities, 250,000 to 499,999; and small cities, under 250,000. Towns had 2,000 or more residents.

Despite their advantages, the data have several major limitations for their use in the identification and measurement of temporary migration. As indicated earlier, the sample is restricted to residents of cities and towns. As such, it provides coverage of only rural-to-urban temporary migrants at place of destination. Excluded are all those temporary migrants who have returned to their rural origins. Since a considerable part of temporary migration in any given year is short-term, many of those migrants will have returned to their places of origin. Their exclusion may thereby restrict the representativeness of those identified in the urban locations at the time of the survey. Moreover, such a design precludes relating the temporary rural-to-urban migrants to the characteristics of their households at origin and assessing the effect of household contextual characteristics at origin on the extent and character of temporary movement.

These limitations are compounded by the way in which the urban sample of temporary migrants was selected. Because the sample was based on family and collective households, those temporary migrants who are living in transients' locations, such as free markets, construction sites, hotels, and hostels, are excluded. Evidence from surveys of temporary migrants in Shanghai, Beijing, and other large cities has documented that such sites encompass about half of all temporary residents in the city (Zheng et al. 1985; Du 1986; Huang 1985). Estimates suggest that in such large cities, temporary migrants (the "floating population") may constitute as much as 10 percent of the city's total population. Restriction of temporary migrants to those living in households undoubtedly biases the sample in favor of migrants with family networks and possibly with intentions for longer duration of residence in the city than might be true of migrants resident in nonhousehold facilities. Temporary migrants living in the households of registered residents can also be expected to have characteristics quite different from those of temporary migrants living in more temporary housing (S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein 1990b). The CASS survey therefore distorts the composition of all temporary migrants in urban places and represents a severe underestimation of the level of their movement.

Despite these shortcomings, the CASS survey provides strong coverage of temporary migrants to and from the sampled urban households

through inclusion of both the temporary migrants resident in them and the inventory of all household members. The household members included persons who had earlier moved out of the household for at least one year and those who had left their residence for less than one year during the 10 months of 1986 preceding the survey. Of the total sample of individuals, 7,606 (7.6 percent) were long-term temporary out-migrants and 24,044 (24 percent) were short-term temporary out-migrants. The temporary in-migrants living in the sampled households, by contrast, numbered 3,628, or 3.6 percent of all residents. The present analysis focuses on a comparison of the temporary in-migrants with nonmigrants and permanent in-migrants.[2] After this comparison, attention will turn to the out-migrants who were included in the CASS survey as members of the sampled households.

Before we turn to the analyses, a final limitation of the data must be pointed out. The data have been made available only in tabulated form, with the nature of the tabulations predetermined by the Population Research Institute (PRI, CASS, 1988). Although the published tables contain a wealth of information on the various migrant-status groups, they are not always consistent in the set of comparative statistics they provide across migration categories. Comparative evaluation of the characteristics of the different groups is therefore restricted. The extent to which this rich set of collected information can be used for analytic purposes is therefore greatly restricted. Fuller access to the basic data would allow the data to be used to maximum advantage to assess population movement in China.

PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY IN-MIGRANT DIFFERENTIALS

Of the total number of residents enumerated in the sample survey, 3,628 persons, or 3.6 percent, were identified as temporary in-migrants—persons who were living as part of the sampled households for less than one year, but who were not officially registered as members of the household (Table 1). This small number contrasts sharply with the 38,102 in-migrants, 38 percent of the population enumerated, who had become permanent members of households. The contrast is quite understandable since, by definition, the temporary residents of households had in-migrated during the year preceding the survey; the permanent in-migrants had arrived at any time since 1949, and their number reflects the cumulative impact of in-migration in the 1950s and 1960s as well as more recently.

2. Other analyses of the CASS survey data have been undertaken by Chinese scholars in conjunction with a conference focusing on the CASS survey, sponsored by the Population Research Institute of CASS, which took place in Beijing in December 1989. These papers cover a wide range of topics; some use data only on specific provinces, whereas others are more national in scope.

Table 1. Migration status of survey population, by place of residence

Survey population	Current or previous residence[a]					
	Total	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Number of persons						
Total population	100,267	44,723	9,688	16,908	10,855	18,093
Nonmigrants	62,165	29,631	4,905	11,040	6,609	9,980
Permanent in-migrants						
1949–86	38,102	15,092	4,783	5,868	4,246	8,113
1985–86	4,130	1,222	425	585	579	1,319
Temporary in-migrants (1986)	3,628	1,519	305	633	276	895
Long-term out-migrants[b]	7,606	4,403	380	798	615	1,410
Short-term out-migrants[c]	24,044	9,879	2,756	3,414	2,399	5,596
Permanent out-migrants	6,177	2,760	290	798	632	1,697
As percentage of total population in current residence						
Total population	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Nonmigrants	62.0	66.3	50.7	65.3	60.9	55.2
Permanent in-migrants						
1949–86	38.0	33.7	49.3	34.7	39.1	44.8
1985–86	4.1	2.7	4.4	3.5	5.3	7.3
Temporary in-migrants (1986)	3.6	3.4	3.1	3.7	2.5	4.9
Long-term out-migrants[b]	7.6	9.8	3.9	4.7	5.7	7.8
Short-term out-migrants[c]	24.0	22.1	28.4	20.2	22.1	30.9
Permanent out-migrants	6.2	6.2	3.0	4.8	5.8	9.4
Percentage distribution, by current residence						
Total population	100.0	44.6	9.7	16.9	10.8	18.0
Nonmigrants	100.0	47.7	7.9	17.7	10.6	16.1
Permanent in-migrants						
1949–86	100.0	39.6	12.6	15.4	11.1	21.3
1985–86	100.0	29.6	10.3	14.2	14.0	31.9
Temporary in-migrants (1986)	100.0	41.9	8.4	17.4	7.6	24.7
Percentage distribution, by previous residence						
Long-term out-migrants[b]	100.0	57.9	5.0	10.5	8.1	18.5
Short-term out-migrants[c]	100.0	41.1	11.5	14.2	10.0	23.2
Permanent out-migrants	100.0	44.7	4.7	12.9	10.2	27.5

a. Current residence refers to total population, nonmigrants, and in-migrants; previous residence refers to out-migrants.

b. More than one year since 1949.

c. Between one day and one year in 1986.

Unfortunately, the tabulations do not present information on the number of permanent in-migrants who arrived in 1986, but they do present data for 1985–86 combined. These show that 4,130 household members had in-migrated during these two years, and those members constituted just over 10 percent of the total in-migrant group. If one assumes that the recent in-migrants were divided proportionally between 1985 and 1986,[3] then just under 1,900 had come in the 10 months of 1986, during which the 3,628 temporary in-migrants had arrived. Thus, and particularly if one takes into account the much larger group of temporary migrants living in the sampled cities and towns who were not represented in the survey because they resided outside household units, these data testify to the magnitude of temporary movement in China and the extent to which the temporary migrants in urban places outnumber those who made a permanent change of residence during the same period.

The percentage of permanent and temporary in-migrants in the total population varied considerably by type of location. For recent in-migrants this reflects in large measure the extent of government control over population movement. Permanent in-migrants who settled sometime between 1949 and 1986 in the urban locations in which they were surveyed in 1986 accounted for 38 percent of all permanently registered residents in those locations. This varied from a low of 33.7 percent of the residents of giant cities to a high of 44.8 percent of those in towns and 49.3 percent in big cities. That between one-third and one-half of all permanent residents in urban locations were permanent in-migrants attests to the important role that population redistribution has played over the last four decades in China's urbanization.

By contrast, recent permanent in-migrants constituted only 4.1 percent of the population of the sampled urban places, pointing to the success of government efforts to control permanent relocation in those places. With only one exception, the percentage of recent migrants in the population varied inversely with size of urban place, from a low of 2.7 percent in giant cities to a high of 7.3 percent in towns. Judged by these data, efforts to control more strictly the flow of people to larger places and to be more liberal in allowing permanent movement to smaller locations have been quite effective.

The percentage of temporary migrants bore less regular relation to size of place, and the differential (for 1986 only)—between the low of 2.5 percent for small cities and the high of 4.9 percent for towns—was less marked than the range characterizing permanent recent in-migrants. Together, these

3. Since the survey was undertaken during the period of September through December 1986, the reference period for 1986 encompassed only ten months on average. Therefore, only 45 percent of the migrants during 1985–86 can be attributed to 1986, if one assumes that an equal number arrived each month during the year.

findings suggest the lesser government control exercised over temporary migration and the resulting greater flexibility that such movement has in relation to economic and social conditions at both the personal and community level.

Insights into the comparative roles of temporary and permanent migration in the urbanization process may be gained from fuller evaluation of the CASS data set. In particular, how do the temporary in-migrants differ from the permanent in-migrants in their origins and reasons for move? How do their personal sociodemographic characteristics differ from those of the in-migrants and nonmigrants? Comparisons on a limited number of variables are possible, controlled for the current type of community of residence.

Sex Differentials

Among temporary migrants, women in all residence categories combining places of origin clearly outnumbered men (Table 2). The total group of temporary migrants had a sex ratio of only 84 men for every 100 women. In no urban category did the number of male temporary migrants exceed the number of females. In fact, with the exception of movement to big cities, the variation was minimal, only between 80.4 and 86.7. In movement to big cities, the sex ratio reached 95.5.

The temporary migrant sex ratios contrasted sharply with the higher ratios characterizing nonmigrants and permanent in-migrants. The nonmigrants had a virtual balance of males and females, although the ratio varied among the five residence categories, from a low of 96.8 for those living in giant cities to a high of 108.2 for those in big cities. In every residence category, the sex ratio of the nonmigrants was at least 13 points above that of the temporary migrant population, supporting the conclusion that temporary migrants differ substantially from the population at destination with respect to sex composition.

This conclusion is reinforced even more strongly by the data on all permanent in-migrants (1949–86), for whom the sex ratio in the five residence categories ranged between 108.9 and 136.1. Significantly, for both nonmigrants and permanent in-migrants, the highest ratios characterized big cities, as was true for temporary migrants. When the composition is restricted to the recent in-migrants (1985–86), who arrived at about the same time as the temporary movers, the differentials in the sex ratios narrow but persist, with only one exception. In every residence category, the sex ratios of temporary migrants remained below those of the recent in-migrants, and considerably so except for big cities. For both big cities and towns, the sex ratio of recent permanent in-migrants slightly favored females, whereas it was heavily dominated by males in the giant, medium, and small cities. The overriding conclusion suggested by these data is that whether compared with nonmigration or with permanent in-migration, temporary migration, regardless of destination, consists disproportionally of females.

Table 2. Sex ratios of survey population, by migration status, origin, and current residence

Current residence	Place of origin			
	City	Town	Rural	Total
Temporary in-migrants				
Giant city	89.6	92.6	74.9	83.7
Big city	92.3	104.2	94.5	95.5
Medium city	100.0	69.8	87.9	86.7
Small city	116.0	92.0	51.9	80.4
Town	95.6	97.1	69.7	81.9
Permanent in-migrants (1949–86)				
Giant city	139.0	111.1	96.3	115.9
Big city	155.2	113.0	129.2	136.1
Medium city	156.0	119.0	88.3	117.4
Small city	138.9	122.0	80.9	108.9
Town	204.6	124.1	103.7	120.5
Permanent in-migrants (1985–86)				
Giant city	151.8	108.7	103.3	125.9
Big city	152.0	73.7	58.4	98.6
Medium city	214.1	124.3	81.7	143.8
Small city	150.0	119.0	85.4	117.7
Town	194.4	92.6	93.2	98.0
Nonmigrants				
Giant city	—	—	—	96.8
Big city	—	—	—	108.2
Medium city	—	—	—	99.2
Small city	—	—	—	100.5
Town	—	—	—	101.6

Note: The sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females.

In large part, the exceptional sex composition of the temporary migrants resulted from the sampling procedure, which identified only those temporary migrants living in households. Data from a Beijing survey of temporary migrants has shown, for example, that those living at construction sites, in free markets, and in hotels all have much higher sex ratios than temporary migrants in households (S. Goldstein and A. Goldstein 1990b). The distortion introduced by the CASS sampling affects other characteristics of the temporary migrants as well, as will be clear from the data discussed below.

Age Differentials

Differentials also extend to the age composition of the various migration status groups (Table 3). Overall, comparatively few of the temporary migrants were children; no more than 12 percent in any residence category were under age 15. By contrast, well over half were concentrated in the age groups between 15 and 44, the peak periods of labor force entry and employment. Most noteworthy, however, is the high concentration (between 19 percent and 31 percent) of temporary migrants in the group age 60 and over. The low percentage of children and the very high percentage of aged distinguished the temporary migrants from the nonmigrant populations living in households in urban places in China; the proportions in the 15–60 year age groups varied minimally. Many of the elderly temporary residents were undoubtedly the rural-origin parents (especially mothers) of persons who had moved to the cities in the past. Because of the constraints China imposes on urbanward movement, such elderly people cannot officially change their registration upon retirement; in the CASS survey they were identified as temporary migrants only if resident in the household for less than one year. Temporary migrants living in the household for more than one year were treated as permanent in-migrants according to the CASS definition.

The specific percentages in given age groups vary when comparisons are made among the different categories of urban places, but the overall pattern of differentials persists. Consistently, temporary migrants included far fewer children and many more older persons than would be expected on the basis of the age distribution of the nonmigrant population, but some differentials were sharper than others. For example, in big cities the proportion of temporary migrant children was only about one-fourth the proportion of nonmigrant children, whereas the proportion of aged among the temporary migrants was over four times as high. By contrast, in the small and giant cities the proportion of children among the temporary migrants was just under half that of the nonmigrants, and the proportion of aged was not quite twice as high. That the age patterns for the giant cities as for the sex ratios more closely resemble those of the small cities than of big cities is somewhat surprising. The reasons for this are not clear. Even in towns, the percentage of temporary migrant children was well below the standard provided by nonmigrants, while the proportion of aged was twice as high among the temporary migrants than in the nonmigrant population.

When comparison is made with the permanent in-migrant population who moved since 1949, both similarities and differences appear. Among all permanent in-migrants, the larger urban places were characterized by particularly low percentages of children. For the giant cities this extended to persons of ages 15–24 as well. Otherwise, with the exception of the higher percentage of aged in the giant cities and the somewhat lower percentage

Table 3. Ages of in-migrants and nonmigrants, by migration status and current residence (percentage distribution)

Age	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Temporary migrants					
< 15	10.3	7.2	8.0	11.9	10.7
15–24	24.0	28.9	31.3	36.3	29.6
25–44	31.8	17.7	29.2	22.5	25.8
45–59	13.6	15.1	12.0	10.8	13.5
60+	20.3	31.1	19.5	18.5	20.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	1,519	305	633	276	895
Permanent migrants (1949–86)					
< 15	4.5	5.2	5.9	8.5	9.6
15–24	12.9	19.3	18.6	21.0	20.9
25–44	42.3	46.6	40.6	39.6	40.2
45–59	28.0	23.6	25.4	22.1	22.2
60+	12.3	5.3	9.5	8.8	7.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	15,092	4,783	5,868	4,246	8,113
Permanent migrants (1985–86)					
< 15	14.9	14.1	14.9	17.1	25.0
15–24	42.7	52.9	49.6	44.9	36.9
25–44	29.6	24.5	26.8	29.5	28.2
45–59	6.6	4.7	5.6	6.2	6.5
60+	6.2	3.8	3.1	2.3	3.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	1,222	425	585	579	1,319
Nonmigrants					
< 15	23.6	31.6	27.7	28.1	31.8
15–24	22.0	28.7	25.6	27.7	26.5
25–44	29.5	24.2	26.9	23.4	22.5
45–59	12.5	8.2	9.8	10.9	9.8
60+	12.4	7.2	10.0	9.9	9.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	29,631	4,905	11,040	6,609	9,980

of older persons in the big cities among the permanent in-migrants, the patterns varied minimally among the different urban categories. The differences noted among the temporary and permanent in-migrants and between them and the nonmigrants point to the success of China's policy to control movement, especially permanent relocation in larger cities. Generally only those in the labor force are allowed to migrate to urban places on a permanent basis; dependents, including elderly parents, children, and wives, more often remain behind or sometimes enter as temporary migrants.

When comparison is restricted to the recent permanent in-migrants, a very different pattern appears. Not surprisingly, because they had not had time to age, the recent migrants were considerably younger and most heavily concentrated in the 15–24 age group in contrast to the 25–44 year range for the total in-migrant group. The data for the recent permanent in-migrants thus correspond closely to the typical pattern characterizing migrants, that is, a high concentration in the ages most closely associated with entry into the labor force and obtaining higher education.

The patterns for the recent in-migrants are also different from those of the temporary migrants. A lower percentage of temporary migrants were children or in the age group 15–24; higher proportions were middle-aged or aged. In fact, the largest differential characterized the aged. To the extent that temporary migration often involves individual family members rather than the family as a unit, the low percentage of children is not surprising. What *is* surprising is that more of the temporary migrants were not concentrated in the 15–24 year age group like the recent permanent in-migrants. This difference may have been due to the restricted coverage of temporary migrants in the sample, which included only those living in household units, and possibly with relatives (not ascertainable from the available published data). This restriction also helps to explain the high percentage of aged temporary migrants, who may have been visiting children or other relatives. Later assessment of the reasons for migration may provide fuller insights into this possiblility.

With the exception of towns, the age distributions of the recent permanent in-migrants varied minimally among the various residence categories. Recent in-migrants in towns were, however, much more concentrated in the youngest age group (under 15), with correspondingly fewer at ages 15–24. Recent changes in policy toward town development—which encourage temporary migration with the possibility that it may become permanent—may account for this pattern. Under such circumstances, some of the migrants to towns may bring their families with them.

Occupational Differentials

Given China's policy of controlled migration to larger urban places, which favors movement for occupational placement, one would expect the occupational composition of permanent in-migrants to urban places to differ from

that of the nonmigrants and especially of the temporary migrants. Moreover, given the differences in both the economic structure and the labor force needs between larger urban places and smaller cities and towns, one would also expect the occupational characteristics of both permanent and temporary migrants to vary by type of destination. The data on the labor force status of the adult population and on the occupational composition of those who are in the labor force support these expectations to varying degrees. Data are presented separately for men and women.

In all four categories of cities, approximately 80 percent of the nonmigrant adult males were in the labor force at the time of the survey (Table 4). For towns, close to 75 percent were working. The distribution of the nonworking male population varied considerably, however, especially between the giant cities on the one hand and the other urban categories on the other. A larger percentage of the men living in giant cities were retired; a smaller proportion were waiting for jobs or to enter school. In all types of locations, similar percentages were enrolled as students.

Furthermore, compared with other urban categories, a higher percentage of nonmigrant men in giant cities who were employed were classified as workers and a smaller proportion were peasants, undoubtedly reflecting the ecological and political structure of those very large urban centers. Whereas only 8 percent of the giant-city males were peasants, 32 percent of those in big cities were so classified. This differential probably reflects the inclusion of considerable rural areas within many big-city boundaries. Except for giant cities, the percentage of peasants declines with declining size of urban place, because smaller urban places are not likely to be as overbounded, so that they encompass smaller agricultural populations. Cadres were found with greatest frequency in the giant cities, although the percentage was not much higher than in medium and small cities and towns.[4] The remaining categories contain comparatively few labor force participants, and the variations among them are small and irregular in pattern.

The same basic patterns characterize the adult female population, except that much higher percentages were not employed, ranging from about 30 percent in medium and larger cities to 40 percent in small cities and towns.

The permanent in-migrants differed in several respects from the nonmigrants in their employment and occupational composition. Smaller percentages of permanent in-migrants were not employed (Table 5). This finding is consistent with the policy that more readily allows permanent migration to meet the labor force needs of particular locations. Much of the balance of permanent movement was associated with withdrawal from the labor

4. Cadres include government officials and administrative staff at every level of the bureaucracy, as well as professionals such as educators from the elementary school level through the university.

Table 4. Labor force status and occupational composition of adult non-migrants, by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

Sex, labor force status, and occupation	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
MALES					
Employed	77.9	80.4	78.0	76.7	72.9
Workers	43.6	35.7	37.0	39.2	33.8
Peasants	8.2	32.0	18.2	14.1	11.6
Cadres	9.7	6.2	8.2	7.3	8.6
Office workers	3.4	1.1	3.3	2.9	3.5
Technical personnel	4.6	1.1	3.3	2.8	3.5
Commercial	3.1	1.0	3.7	4.9	6.7
Military personnel	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1
Others	5.1	3.1	4.0	5.3	5.1
Not employed	22.1	19.4	22.0	23.1	26.9
Retired	10.5	4.4	7.5	7.7	6.6
Students	7.1	10.4	8.0	7.7	10.6
Awaiting job/school	2.7	3.1	4.3	4.8	5.5
Houseworkers	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.7
Other not employed	1.3	0.7	1.5	2.1	3.5
No answer	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	10,993	1,751	3,894	2,340	3,448
FEMALES					
Employed	66.8	68.8	65.9	60.0	57.9
Workers	37.3	31.8	30.4	33.1	29.3
Peasants	7.7	27.2	17.3	10.1	7.8
Cadres	5.2	3.8	3.6	3.2	3.8
Office workers	3.4	1.2	2.3	2.2	2.9
Technical personnel	3.3	1.5	2.8	2.4	2.7
Commercial	5.8	1.8	6.1	6.3	8.6
Military personnel	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	4.1	1.5	3.4	2.7	2.8
Not employed	33.1	31.1	33.9	40.0	42.1
Retired	13.0	2.5	7.1	4.3	4.0
Students	6.8	9.6	8.1	8.6	9.9
Awaiting job/school	2.5	3.5	4.5	4.3	5.4
Houseworkers	9.5	14.5	12.4	20.0	19.3
Other not employed	1.3	1.0	1.8	2.8	3.5
No answer	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	11,634	1,602	4,090	2,412	3,357

Table 5. Labor force status and occupational composition of adult permanent in-migrants (1949–86), by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

Sex, labor force status, and occupation	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
MALES					
Employed	83.8	88.7	85.1	82.9	85.2
Workers	41.6	55.2	42.2	37.4	36.7
Peasants	2.1	2.0	1.8	5.7	1.7
Cadres	19.1	13.6	21.1	20.0	23.6
Office workers	4.5	6.7	6.3	5.5	7.7
Technical personnel	9.5	8.7	9.7	8.3	7.6
Commercial	2.2	0.9	1.6	1.6	4.1
Military personnel	0.8	0.1	0.3	0.9	0.3
Others	4.0	1.5	2.1	3.5	3.5
Not employed	16.3	11.2	14.9	17.1	14.7
Retired	9.0	4.5	8.8	6.6	5.8
Students	5.1	4.2	4.1	6.5	5.3
Awaiting job/school	0.9	1.2	1.0	2.1	1.8
Houseworkers	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.4
Other not employed	0.9	0.8	0.4	1.6	1.4
No answer	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	7,748	2,641	2,983	2,029	4,008
FEMALES					
Employed	68.5	75.2	69.2	62.9	62.7
Workers	33.8	35.4	29.8	32.0	27.6
Peasants	4.1	11.0	9.2	7.7	4.2
Cadres	8.7	6.0	9.0	7.0	8.1
Office workers	3.4	6.3	3.4	3.3	4.1
Technical personnel	6.7	7.6	7.3	4.4	5.9
Commercial	5.7	4.3	6.3	5.1	8.5
Military personnel	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Others	5.0	4.5	4.1	3.4	4.3
Not employed	31.4	24.6	30.8	37.1	37.2
Retired	13.1	3.4	8.8	4.3	2.9
Students	3.8	4.4	3.8	6.0	6.3
Awaiting job/school	1.0	2.5	2.0	2.4	2.8
Houseworkers	12.0	12.9	15.3	22.4	23.4
Other not employed	1.5	1.4	0.9	2.0	1.8
No answer	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	6,658	1,895	2,537	1,856	3,329

force or with enrollment or completion of higher education.

Among employed men, workers constituted by far the largest group in every residential category, but only in big cities did they constitute a majority of all men. The second major group consisted of cadres, who accounted for almost one-quarter of all migrants to towns and one in five of the migrants to the giant, medium, and small cities. This heavy concentration of cadres in the migrant group was undoubtedly related to the frequent reassignment of government and party officials. The third largest occupational group for four of the five residence categories was technical personnel, who are moved in response to demands for their particular skills to different locations undergoing development and industrialization. They constituted between 8 and 10 percent of all adult male permanent in-migrants to urban places. Noteworthy is the low percentage of in-migrants who were peasants, reflecting the strong controls that restrict peasants from settling permanently in cities.

Fewer differences characterized the permanent in-migrant and nonmigrant women than men in the percentages employed and not employed, but the occupational differentials were similar. Although the percentages of female in-migrants engaged as workers were not very different from those of the nonmigrants, considerably fewer were peasants, a pattern similar to that for males and for the same reasons. On the other hand, compared with nonmigrants more of the women permanent in-migrants were concentrated in the cadre group, as was also the case for men, especially in places toward the lower end of the urban hierarchy. Also like men, female technicians were more noticeable among the in-migrants than they were among the nonmigrants. Overall, therefore, the labor force selectivity of women permanent in-migrants to urban places closely parallels that of men and is consistent with what one would expect on the basis of the strong government control of the flow of population in relation to the economic and administrative needs of various locations.

As expected, for both men and women, the differences between the temporary migrants on the one hand and the permanent migrants and nonmigrants on the other were far greater than those between permanent migrants and nonmigrants (Table 6). The extent of differences also varied however, by type of urban destination. Particularly noteworthy is the higher percentage of temporary migrants who were not working. This was true of men in all urban destinations except medium cities, but especially among those to big and small cities. It was characteristic of all streams of female migrants; only those to small cities showed minimal differences. This pattern suggests that for the temporary in-migrants living in households and sampled in the survey, noneconomic factors may have been more important than economic ones as reasons for movement. Later exploration of reasons will provide more insights on this pattern.

Table 6. Labor force status and occupational composition of adult temporary in-migrants, by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

Sex, labor force status, and occupation	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
MALES					
Employed	82.0	65.9	87.1	72.3	83.0
Worker	20.8	13.8	19.6	20.5	17.8
Peasants	28.5	34.8	20.7	15.2	30.0
Cadres	11.3	8.0	8.1	13.4	13.0
Office workers	2.1	0.0	1.1	1.8	2.3
Technical personnel	6.3	3.6	3.3	7.1	7.9
Commercial	4.5	1.4	28.8	4.5	4.0
Military personnel	4.3	0.7	3.3	2.7	2.6
Others	4.2	3.6	2.2	7.1	5.4
Not employed	18.0	34.1	12.9	27.7	17.0
Retired	6.9	11.6	3.7	8.9	5.4
Students	4.5	4.3	2.9	7.1	6.2
Awaiting job/school	1.6	2.2	1.1	3.6	0.8
Houseworkers	1.6	5.1	2.6	1.8	0.6
Other not employed	3.4	10.9	2.6	6.3	4.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	621	138	271	112	353
FEMALES					
Employed	62.6	48.9	55.2	61.1	59.7
Workers	16.6	12.4	10.9	12.2	13.9
Peasants	25.4	31.0	19.9	29.0	28.2
Cadres	4.7	0.7	3.5	6.1	3.1
Office workers	3.0	0.0	1.3	2.3	1.3
Technical personnel	3.4	0.7	1.9	3.8	6.7
Commercial	6.2	3.4	13.2	2.3	3.6
Military personnel	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Others	3.2	0.7	4.2	5.4	2.9
Not employed	37.4	51.1	44.8	38.9	40.3
Retired	5.7	4.8	5.2	6.1	4.5
Students	5.0	0.7	2.3	4.6	5.1
Awaiting job/school	2.7	1.4	3.2	5.3	2.7
Houseworkers	19.6	36.6	28.0	16.8	23.1
Other not employed	4.4	7.6	6.1	6.1	4.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	741	145	311	131	493

Quite consistently, temporary migrants had the highest percentages categorized as "Other not employed." For example, whereas less than 1 percent of the permanent male migrants to big cities were in this group, 11 percent of the temporary migrants to big cities were so classified. The percentages of men who were retired also varied; giant and medium cities had lower proportions retired, whereas in big cities the percentage of retired men was more than twice as high among the temporary migrants as among the permanent migrants.

The most noticeable differences characterize the occupational composition of the temporary and permanent migrants. The percentages of temporary migrants who were workers were much lower in all urban categories. In every type of location, at least twice as many of the permanent migrants were workers; in the big cities, the ratio was four to one. By contrast, the temporary migrants were much more heavily concentrated among the peasants. Whereas only 2 percent of the permanent in-migrants in the giant cities were peasants, almost 30 percent of the male temporary migrants were in this category. The percentages were even higher for the temporary migrants in big cities and towns. Temporary migration clearly allows peasants to live in the city for at least a short time; in so doing it provides a basis for developing linkages between urban places of all types and rural areas.

Like workers, cadres were found with lesser frequency among temporary migrants than among permanent ones. This pattern is also consistent with policies of reassigning both workers and cadres, who therefore have less need to resort to temporary migration for mobility. Technical personnel were also underrepresented among the temporary migrants compared with the permanent migrants. This was less true in small cities and towns, possibly because some technicians had moved to these places on a temporary basis to provide short-term technical assistance and advice in the development of local industry. A noticeable deviation also characterized the commercial group: in medium cities, 29 percent of temporary migrants were in this category, compared with fewer than 2 percent of the permanent in-migrants. Why medium cities in particular should attract such a heavy percentage of male temporary migrants in commerce is not evident from the available information.

Among women, sharp differences emerged between the temporary and permanent migrants with respect to those not employed and those holding occupations. For giant, big, and medium cities, much higher percentages of temporary migrant women were houseworkers; about 40 percent of women in each residential group were not employed. Not being in the labor force may have enabled them to move about more freely and may account for the fact that more of the temporary migrants were women. It may also help to explain why a considerable proportion gave visiting as their reason for movement to the city. No substantial differences character-

ized the percentages of temporary and permanent migrants who were retired, except in giant cities, where among permanent migrants there was a much higher percentage of retired females. Many of these women may have been elderly mothers joining children in the city, since such family reunion can be a basis for an official change in residence registration.

As with males, far lower percentages of female temporary migrants were workers and much higher proportions were peasants. Similarly, lower percentages of the female temporary migrants were cadres and technical personnel, except in towns, where a higher proportion of temporary migrant women were technicians than among permanent migrants. The similarity between men and women in the occupational differentials of temporary and permanent migrants lends weight to the conclusion that official government policies strongly influence the occupational composition of the permanent migrants, whereas the ability to circumvent official controls on permanent change in residence helps to explain the occupational composition of the temporary migrants.

Duration of Residence

The nature of temporary migration can be further explored by examining how long temporary migrants have been in their current place of residence. Since temporary migration is defined as movement within the previous year, the survey did not define as temporary migrants those who were not officially registered at place of residence but who had been living there for more than one year. This procedure follows the practice of the 1982 Chinese census, which counted all those who had been living in a place for more than one year as residents of that location regardless of their registration status. Thus, the data on duration of residence can be assessed only within the limits of this one-year restriction.

The data clearly show that, within the constraints of the definition of temporary migration in this survey, most temporary movement was short-term (Table 7). Over half of all temporary migrants had been resident at destination for only two to 30 days (although we do not know how long they remained after the survey). Only about one in five of all the temporary migrants had been resident for more than half a year. The data for specific categories of urban places do show some differences, however. Temporary migrants to giant, big, and small cities and to towns tended to have shorter durations of residence than those to medium cities, where they were more heavily concentrated in the 6–12 month category.

This was true of both men and women. Yet for all residence categories, lower percentages of females than of males were in the shortest duration category and, with the exception of medium cities, more were in the 6–12 month duration group. These patterns suggest that women engage in temporary mobility for reasons different from those of men, especially for movement to smaller locations.

Table 7. Duration of residence of temporary in-migrants, by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

Duration of residence	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Both sexes					
2–30 days	55.0	51.1	46.4	57.6	66.9
1–5 months	27.3	29.2	29.7	23.6	17.9
6–12 months	17.7	19.7	23.9	18.8	15.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	1,519	305	633	276	895
Males					
2–30 days	57.7	53.0	46.9	65.0	72.0
1–5 months	26.6	29.5	26.2	22.0	17.1
6–12 months	15.7	17.5	26.9	13.0	10.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	692	149	294	123	403
Females					
2–30 days	52.7	49.4	46.0	51.6	62.8
1–5 months	27.9	28.8	32.8	24.9	18.5
6–12 months	19.3	21.8	21.2	23.5	18.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	827	156	339	153	492

Age is also related to duration of residence. The data for all residence categories combined (not shown in table) show that both persons under age 25 and the aged tended to have longer durations of residence than those between ages 25 and 60. Fewer than half among the younger groups and just over half of the aged had spent less than one month in their places of destination, whereas almost two-thirds of those in the 25–44 age group and three-fourths of those 45–59 were concentrated in this short-duration category. By contrast, almost one-fourth of all the younger temporary migrants had lived at their current destinations for at least half a year, as had almost one in five of the aged. To the extent that more of the younger and aged persons were not active in the labor force, these data suggest that noneconomic factors are associated with longer duration of residence, whereas economically motivated movement leads to shorter stays.

Origin of Migrants

Given the government policy of controlling the growth of larger urban places by encouraging movement to smaller cities and towns, one would expect

the origins of migrants to the various residence categories to differ substantially among both permanent and temporary migrants. Because of the controls, permanent in-migrants to larger urban places are more likely to originate in other urban places and especially in larger cities than in rural areas and towns. In contrast, more of the permanent movement to small cities and towns is likely to originate in either towns or rural areas. One would expect the patterns for temporary migrants to be quite different because temporary movement is not subject to the same stringent regulations as permanent relocation. Compared with permanent migrants, temporary migrants to larger places are more likely to come from smaller urban places and rural areas. Although small cities and towns are also likely to draw heavily from towns and rural areas, the location in smaller urban places of branches of large-city industries, as well as the growing effort to develop smaller urban places, may lead to heavier than average temporary movement from larger cities to smaller cities and towns.

For purposes of this analysis, the information by origin has been tabulated both for all permanent in-migrants (1949–86) and for recent permanent in-migrants (1985–86). The data on the permanent in-migrants provide insights into the success of the Chinese government's efforts to control movement to large urban places by restricting such moves largely to individuals who already hold urban registration. For all four categories of cities, the percentage of permanent in-migrants (1949–86) who originated in other cities ranged between 33 and 37 percent; within this narrow range, the percentages tended to be slightly but directly correlated with size of urban destination (Table 8). On the basis of these data, one can conclude that the efforts at control were not particularly effective. A majority of the population moving to cities originated either in towns or rural areas. This discrepancy between policy and behavior is emphasized by the large (39–45) percentage of permanent in-migrants to cities who came from rural areas. It must be recognized, however, that these migrants may have moved any time after 1949, and that many therefore migrated before the policies were in force.

A clearer indication of the effectiveness of efforts to control migration to cities is available from the data on the place of origin of recent permanent in-migrants. Consistently, the percentage of recent in-migrants who originated in other cities was higher than for the total in-migrant group. About 45 percent of the recent in-migrants to giant, big, and medium cities originated in other cities, as did 41 percent of those going to small cities. The percentage originating in towns ranged from 18 percent of those moving to giant cities to approximately one-quarter of those moving to big, medium, and small cities. Together, therefore, those originating in other urban places (cities and towns combined) constituted at least two-thirds of all recent permanent in-migrants to cities, with a large majority coming from other cities. Nonetheless, as many as one-third of the recent permanent in-migrants to the giant cities and from one-quarter to one-third of the

Table 8. Origin of temporary and permanent in-migrants, by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

Current residence	Place of origin				Total %	Total number
	City	Town	Rural	Other[a]		
TEMPORARY MIGRANTS						
Both sexes						
Giant city	35.9	18.9	43.5	1.6	100.0	1,519
Big city	24.6	16.1	58.0	1.3	100.0	305
Medium city	23.4	16.3	59.1	1.2	100.0	633
Small city	39.1	17.4	42.4	1.1	100.0	276
Town	20.1	22.5	56.3	1.1	100.0	895
Males						
Giant city	37.3	19.9	40.9	1.9	100.0	692
Big city	24.2	16.8	57.7	1.3	100.0	149
Medium city	25.2	14.3	59.5	1.0	100.0	294
Small city	47.2	18.7	32.5	1.6	100.0	123
Town	21.8	24.6	51.4	2.2	100.0	403
Females						
Giant city	34.8	18.0	45.7	1.5	100.0	827
Big city	25.0	15.4	58.3	1.3	100.0	156
Medium city	21.8	18.0	58.7	1.5	100.0	339
Small city	32.7	16.3	50.3	0.7	100.0	153
Town	18.7	20.7	60.4	0.2	100.0	492
PERMANENT MIGRANTS (1949–86)						
Both sexes						
Giant city	36.7	16.0	44.5	2.8	100.0	15,092
Big city	36.8	22.6	38.7	2.0	100.0	4,783
Medium city	34.7	24.2	39.4	1.7	100.0	5,868
Small city	33.3	24.7	40.9	1.1	100.0	4,246
Town	15.4	25.7	56.9	2.0	100.0	8,113
Males						
Giant city	39.7	15.7	40.7	3.9	100.0	8,103
Big city	38.8	20.8	37.8	2.6	100.0	2,758
Medium city	39.1	24.4	34.2	2.2	100.0	3,169
Small city	37.1	26.0	35.1	1.8	100.0	2,213
Town	18.9	26.1	53.0	2.0	100.0	4,434
Females						
Giant city	33.2	16.4	49.0	1.5	100.0	6,989
Big city	34.0	25.0	40.0	1.1	100.0	2,025
Medium city	29.5	24.0	45.5	1.0	100.0	2,699
Small city	29.1	23.2	47.3	0.4	100.0	2,033
Town	11.1	25.3	61.6	2.0	100.0	3,679

Table 8: *(continued)*

Current residence	Place of origin				Total %	Total number
	City	Town	Rural	Other[a]		
PERMANENT MIGRANTS (1985–86)						
Both sexes						
Giant city	44.9	17.6	35.1	2.4	100.0	1,222
Big city	44.5	24.9	28.7	1.9	100.0	425
Medium city	45.6	26.8	25.5	2.1	100.0	585
Small city	40.6	25.4	33.0	1.0	100.0	579
Town	8.0	25.7	64.1	2.2	100.0	1,319
Males						
Giant city	48.6	16.5	32.0	2.9	100.0	681
Big city	54.0	21.3	21.3	3.4	100.0	211
Medium city	52.8	25.2	19.4	2.6	100.0	345
Small city	45.1	25.2	28.1	1.6	100.0	313
Town	10.7	25.0	62.5	1.8	100.0	653
Females						
Giant city	40.3	19.0	39.0	1.7	100.0	541
Big city	35.0	28.5	36.0	0.5	100.0	214
Medium city	35.4	29.2	34.2	1.2	100.0	240
Small city	35.3	25.6	38.7	0.4	100.0	266
Town	5.4	26.4	65.8	2.4	100.0	666

a. Includes persons coming from overseas, demobilized soldiers, and those with undetermined origin.

migrants to other cities had rural origins. Even under current policy, therefore, a substantial number of settlers in cities come from nonurban places and thereby contribute to the rising level of urbanization in China.

In towns the patterns of origin differ noticeably from those characterizing movement to cities, both for all in-migrants and for those who arrived in 1985–86. Much smaller proportions originated in cities, and, conversely, higher percentages came from rural areas. This pattern is particularly pronounced among the recent in-migrants, giving strong evidence that, in line with government development efforts, the towns are serving as alternate destinations for rural out-migrants. The small percentage coming from cities reflects the reluctance of those who have permanent city registration to give it up in favor of town registration, since it would be difficult under Chinese regulations subsequently to regain city residence.

How do the temporary migrants compare with permanent in-migrants? The analysis is restricted to recent permanent in-migrants to ensure greater comparability. Of temporary migrants to the giant cities, 36 percent originated in other cities, compared with 45 percent of the recent permanent

in-migrants. Differences were even greater for big and medium cities, with fewer than one-quarter of the temporary migrants reporting other cities as their origin compared with about 45 percent of the recent permanent in-migrants. The percentages of permanent and temporary migrants originating in cities were most similar in small cities.

By contrast, more of the temporary migrants to cities of any size originated in rural areas. This finding corroborates the role of temporary migration as a mechanism for rural populations to take advantage of the opportunities in cities. Just over 40 percent of those going to the giant and small cities were of rural origin, as were well over half of those entering big and medium cities. Compared with recent permanent in-migrants, temporary migrants were less likely to come from towns, except for those going to the giant cities. Overall, therefore, these data on the origins of temporary migrants are consistent with what one would expect on the basis of policy and of developments in rural areas.

Movement to towns also reflects policy. Compared with recent permanent in-migrants, a higher percentage of temporary movers of both sexes to towns originated in cities and fewer came from rural areas. The location in towns of branches of city industry, as well as the need and opportunity for some city residents to engage temporarily in economic activities in towns, probably accounts for this; one in five temporary migrants had moved from a city, compared with only 8 percent of the permanent in-migrants. Yet over half of all the temporary movers to towns were of rural origin, attesting to the important role that towns play, not only for permanent in-migration from rural places but also for providing markets and other economic opportunities for village dwellers.

The data in Table 8 include information on the origin–destination patterns for men and women separately. Overall, the patterns noted for both sexes together hold for each group. Most noteworthy are the gender differences of recent permanent in-migrants. A higher percentage of men than of women had moved to cities of any size from other cities. The differences ranged between a low of 10 percentage points for the giant and small cities to almost 20 percentage points for big and medium cities, and, with the exception of big cities, most of the difference was accounted for by the higher percentages of women who originated in rural places. Many were probably wives joining their husbands or older mothers joining their children.[5] Towns, on the whole, drew relatively few permanent migrants from cities, but twice as many men as women had made such a move. The low percentage of city-origin permanent migrants in towns is not surprising since

5. In general, marriage is not an acceptable reason for granting city registration to rural women. Many may enter cities, however, without a change in registration. Under the definitions employed in the CASS survey, those temporary migrants who have lived in urban households for more than one year would be counted as permanent in-migrants.

such a move would mean the loss of the very desirable city registration status and make it difficult to return to the city at some future time.

Gender differentials in origin characterizing temporary migrants were not so sharp as for the permanent in-migrants. In giant, medium, and small cities and in towns, slightly more men than women had originated in cities, and more women than men came from rural areas. Only for small cities was there a sharp sex difference in origin, with many more men than women coming from cities, and far more women originating in rural places. The likely explanation for this sex differential among temporary migrants relates to the nature of economic opportunities. While economic motives may be most important for both men and women, their activities are likely to be different. Many men who are engaged in service and business activities in one city may shift to another; technical personnel (most of whom are men) may also temporarily lend their expertise to enterprises in other cities. Temporary movement among women is more likely to be associated with marketing produce and handicrafts from rural areas and with visiting relatives and friends living in the city.

The general absence of gender differentials in origin for temporary migrants, as compared with recent permanent in-migrants, undoubtedly relates to the reasons for migration sanctioned by government policies. As later analysis will confirm, more men than women were permanent migrants owing to work-related reasons. Government policies allow such movement to cities while being more restrictive of noneconomic moves, such as those related to marriage and joining family members, which are important motives for female migration. As a result, it is not surprising that among permanent migrants, more males than females were intercity migrants. A majority of men had moved for work-related reasons and were therefore likely to have come from other urban places, whereas more of the women were motivated by family concerns and originated in rural places. Noneconomic motives undoubtedly underlay a majority of the moves reported by both the male and female temporary migrants sampled in this survey. This finding may well explain the closer similarity in places of origin, although full testing of this assumption requires data (not now available) on reasons for move by place of origin.

The relative numbers of men and women in the various migration streams can be measured by sex ratios. In 11 of the 15 origin–destination combinations (Table 2), the sex ratios for the recent permanent in-migrants were higher than those of the temporary migrants, and usually by a considerable amount.

Moreover, many of the migration streams of recent in-migrants were heavily male, whereas this was true of only a few of the temporary migration streams. For example, in movement to the giant cities, the sex ratios of recent permanent in-migrants ranged from 152 for those coming from cities to a low of 103 for those coming from rural areas. Among temporary

migrants, the ratio was highest for movement from towns to giant cities, where it equalled 93, and went as low as 75 for rural-to-giant-city movement. In fact, in every case of movement among recent in-migrants involving exodus from a city, men outnumbered women by substantial margins. This was also true in three out of the five categories involving movement from towns. However, when temporary migration from cities and towns is examined, in only two out of the five categories involving exodus from cities and in only one out of five for those leaving towns was the number of males equal to or greater than the number of females.

For both temporary and permanent migration, movement from rural areas tended to be characterized by a predominance of women, regardless of destination (permanent migration to the giant cities being the only exception), and in most instances this migration source had the lowest sex ratio of the three place-of-origin categories. Again, these patterns reflect the impact of government policies and cultural norms. Permanent movement from cities heavily involves college graduates taking up job assignments, cadres being transferred to new posts, and technical workers on job transfers. All of such migrants are much more likely to be men than women because men predominate among college graduates, higher level cadres, and technicians (A. Goldstein and S. Goldstein 1990). On the other hand, many women move to urban places to engage in private service or retail work or to join husbands. Since these reasons for movement are not sanctioned by policy, the women cannot officially change their household registration and therefore move to the cities as temporary migrants. These explanations help to account for the noted gender differences by migration category, but more exploration of the underlying causes are necessary.

Reasons for Movement

What motivates temporary movement to urban places, and how do the motives differ from those of permanent migrants? The main reason for moving was ascertained for the permanent and temporary residents. Unfortunately, the information on reasons for permanent in-migration is not tabulated separately by date of arrival at destination. It is therefore not possible to evaluate separately the motives of the recent permanent in-migrants. Information for the total group of permanent migrants only—all those who arrived during 1949–86 and who were still permanent residents of sampled households at the time of the survey—obviously cannot serve as representative of the most recent group of migrants. Any comparison of the motivation for permanent and temporary migration must therefore recognize this limitation. In examining motivations for migration, we give separate attention to men and women, since the patterns differ considerably by sex.

For permanent male in-migrants to urban places, economic motives clearly predominated, but less so for movement to the giant cities than to other urban places, including towns (Table 9). For all but the permanent

Table 9. Reasons for permanent in-migration (1949–86), by current residence and sex of migrants (percentage distribution)

Reason for migration	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Males					
Work-related[a]	41.3	59.6	52.6	45.3	54.5
Demobilization	12.5	8.8	10.6	8.8	7.4
Family-related[b]	20.7	22.7	22.5	29.5	25.5
Retirement	1.7	0.7	1.2	1.0	1.1
Marriage	2.0	0.9	1.6	2.4	1.2
Policy-related[c]	9.2	1.2	3.7	2.6	3.5
Training	5.6	3.0	2.1	2.5	1.8
Other	7.0	3.1	5.7	7.9	5.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	8,103	2,758	3,169	2,213	4,434
Females					
Work-related[a]	24.4	24.9	26.2	19.0	25.5
Demobilization	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.2
Family-related[b]	41.3	52.2	42.6	47.6	42.4
Retirement	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.3	0.3
Marriage	14.1	15.9	19.2	20.9	19.6
Policy-related[c]	9.0	1.7	4.0	3.4	4.1
Training	3.4	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.1
Other	6.4	3.2	5.4	6.5	5.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	6,989	2,025	2,699	2,033	3,679

a. Includes work transfer, job assignment, replacement, and seeking a job in industry and commerce.

b. Includes migration with family and to live with relatives.

c. Includes moves resulting from rectification of policy and students returning from work service.

in-migrants to the giant and small cities, a majority gave economic motives as the major reason for movement. These included shifts in post, job assignments, business, and children replacing parents on jobs; post shifts were the most prominent. For movement to the giant and small cities, while over 40 percent cited economic reasons, the other reasons together accounted for the majority of all moves.

Joining relatives and family stands out as the second most important motive for movement to all urban destinations, accounting for between 21

and 30 percent of all migration. This reason tended to be more prominent in smaller urban places than in the larger ones, although not consistently. Third in importance for every residence category was demilitarization—the return of those released from military service.

These three reasons together accounted for 80 percent or more of all the reasons for movement, except in giant cities. There, the return of youths who had been sent to the countryside and those who had been forced out of the cities during the Cultural Revolution accounted for 9 percent of permanent in-migration. An additional 6 percent was explained by individuals coming to the metropolis for training purposes. Since such large cities contain many educational institutions, the heavier concentration there of in-migrants coming to study is understandable.

Women migrated for quite different reasons than did men. Fewer cited economic factors, and much higher percentages indicated family-related reasons and marriage. Over 40 percent of all moves, regardless of destination, were to join families, and an additional 15–20 percent were related to marriage. Except for the somewhat lower percentages who had moved to the giant and big cities in connection with marriage, no patterned relation appears between the size of urban destination and the proportion who cited family- or marriage-related reasons for movement. Rating next in order of importance and accounting for between one-fifth and one-quarter of all moves were economic factors. With the exception of the somewhat lower percentage who cited economic reasons for movement to small cities, this percentage varied minimally by size of urban place. Beyond these three reasons, the remaining categories of reasons accounted for only a small percentage of women. The only exception, as for males, was in giant cities, where 9 percent of migrants were either students returning from work service or others resettling as the result of rectification of policy. For females, movement for purposes of training was less important than for males, reflecting the lower percentage of women enrolled in higher education. Thus, most female migration occurred directly as the result of noneconomic factors. Nonetheless, the underlying causes may still have been heavily economic, to the extent that the husbands or parents of the migrants were motivated economically in moving to the urban destination.

The distinct character of temporary migration, when only temporary migrants living in households are considered, is reflected in the different pattern of reasons for such movement (Table 10). Six basic reasons can be defined—economic, training, visiting relatives or friends, being in a hospital, travel, and "other" reasons. In examining the reasons for temporary migration, it must be stressed again that the temporary migrants in the sample constituted only a portion of all temporary migrants to urban places, those residing in households; excluded were those living on construction sites, in free markets, and in other nonhousehold locations. To the extent that a disproportional number of temporary migrants come to the city for

Table 10. Reasons for temporary in-migration, by current residence and sex of migrants (percentage distribution)

Reason for migration	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Males					
Work-related	17.6	9.4	37.1	12.2	7.2
Training	2.5	2.7	0.7	1.6	4.7
Visiting	66.5	65.7	55.1	75.6	77.7
Hospital care	3.3	3.4	0.7	1.6	1.2
Travel	3.0	1.3	1.4	0.8	0.7
Other	7.1	17.5	5.0	8.2	8.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	692	149	294	123	403
Females					
Work-related	11.0	4.5	16.5	5.9	4.9
Training	1.7	2.6	0.6	2.6	3.3
Visiting	70.4	78.2	69.9	75.8	76.0
Hospital care	3.3	1.3	1.2	0.7	3.0
Travel	1.7	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.6
Other	11.9	13.4	10.6	15.0	12.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	827	156	339	153	492

temporary work, such as construction, service, and marketing activities, they may not be adequately represented in this sample. Such a conclusion is strongly indicated by data collected in Shanghai and Beijing surveys of temporary migrants that encompass not only households but also those living on construction sites, in free markets, and other urban institutions, such as hospitals, hostels, and hotels (Zheng et al. 1985; Du 1986).

This limitation helps explain why, for all residence categories, a disproportional number of male and female temporary migrants indicated visiting relatives or friends as their reason for migration. Among men this ranged from 55 percent of those in medium cities to a high of almost 80 percent of those in towns. For females, the range was between 70 percent of those in medium cities to 78 percent of those in big cities. "Visiting" as a reason must, however, be interpreted with caution. Given the legal controls on permanent migration, many may turn to temporary migration and use "visiting" as a way of circumscribing legal restrictions. By staying with relatives living in the city, individuals are able to take up residence for extended periods and possibly engage in economic activities while classifying them-

selves as visitors. A number of children may also be reported as visiting, when in fact they have been brought to the city to be raised by relatives, thereby taking advantage of the better urban educational facilities. Discussions with individual scholars indicate that this is a fairly common practice. Often visitors also serve as domestics or babysitters. Without being able to tabulate reasons for temporary migration against duration of residence and the composition of the household, it is difficult to gain further insights into these possible explanations.

Data not shown in the tables support some of these interpretations. Among the male and female temporary migrants to giant cities, for example, over 80 percent of those under age 15 and of those age 60 and over were classified as visiting relatives and friends. Together, these two age groups constituted about one-third of all male visitors and almost half of all female visitors. The same proportions generally characterized other urban locations as well. Even among temporary migrants between ages 15 and 59, usually over half gave visiting as the reason for their migration.

Next to visiting, and except for the miscellaneous "other" category, work-related reasons were the most frequently cited by both men and women. The percentage so reporting varied irregularly, however, in relation to size of urban place. For males it was lowest (7 percent) in towns and highest (37 percent) in medium cities. However, the percentage was almost as low in big cities as in towns. The same irregularity characterized females. Training, hospital care, and travel accounted for only small percentages of all the migrants. In fact, many more were concentrated in the residual category.

Overall, the data by reasons can provide only limited insights into the character of temporary movement to urban places. At face value, they suggest that, for temporary migrants living in households, noneconomic reasons dominate. Together with the data on duration of residence, they also suggest that temporary migrants are not strongly involved for any length of time in the economic activities of the cities and towns. The limitations of these data argue strongly for efforts to differentiate more clearly between temporary migrants who are nothing more than short-term visitors and those operating under this label for other purposes. Such analyses would require tabulations that are not currently possible because of the unavailability of anything but the published data. Most important, future surveys should include temporary migrants not living in households.

SHORT-TERM OUT-MIGRANTS

As noted in the description of the migration survey, information was collected on two sets of temporary migrants: those who had moved to the survey area and who had been resident for less than one year in the sampled household units at the time of the survey, and those members of the household units who had been away from their residence for at least one day

but less than one year during 1986. The focus of this analysis up to now has been on the first group, since major interest centers on the volume, origins, and characteristics of temporary migrants to urban places.

Because the survey did not include rural areas, the available data do not allow evaluation of temporary out-migration from rural areas, except to the extent that such migrants were represented among those included in the urban samples. Survey coverage of short-term out-migrants from urban households did, however, provide a comprehensive set of data on temporary out-migrants from urban places. A brief assessment of these out-migrants follows, comparing them with the temporary in-migrants to urban places and with the nonmigrant population in the urban places.

Before we turn to the analysis of these data, it is important to point out that in the CASS survey the out-migrants by definition differed importantly from temporary in-migrants. The out-migrants included all household members who had been away from their cities or towns for one or more days during 1986, regardless of the type of living quarters they were staying in while away from their households. As such, they differed in two important respects from temporary in-migrants. First, the latter were all resident in sampled households at the time of the survey. The short-term out-migrants, in contrast, were not restricted to those away from the sampled households at the time of the survey; they could have been away any time during 1986 in the months preceding the survey. Second, the temporary in-migrants were, according to the sampling procedure, all resident in *households* at the time of the survey; the short-term out-migrants, however, were not necessarily living in households while away from their residences. Since many were away from their usual residences for tourism, short business trips, or specialized training, their composition and reasons for mobility were likely to be quite different from those of the temporary in-migrants. Most persons away from home for such purposes would have been unlikely to stay in households.

In all, 24,044 persons were classified as temporary, short-term out-migrants (Table 1), indicating that one-quarter of all household members in the sampled units had made at least one temporary move in 1986. This high percentage reflects the broad set of criteria used in defining persons as short-term out-migrants. Their absence could have lasted from one day to a year, and for reasons that included travel, hospital care, and visiting, as well as job-related factors and training. Limited attention can and will, however, be given to variations by frequency and reason.

The percentage of temporary out-migrants varied considerably by type of location (Table 1), being highest in towns (31 percent) and lowest in medium-sized cities (20 percent). The high percentage for towns was expected, because temporary movement from towns, much of which is to cities, serves as a substitute for the permanent change in residence that is strictly controlled. Why big cities had a comparatively high percentage

Table 11. Frequency of short-term out-migration among all household members during the previous year, by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

Frequency	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Males					
None	73.8	65.3	74.2	72.9	63.4
1	13.5	17.9	10.2	10.8	11.1
2–4	6.9	9.0	7.9	7.9	9.6
5–10	3.0	4.6	3.1	3.6	6.2
11+	2.8	3.2	4.6	4.8	9.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	22,681	5,307	8,667	5,525	9,463
Females					
None	82.2	79.2	85.7	83.1	75.3
1	12.0	11.4	9.1	9.3	11.6
2–4	4.0	5.2	3.7	5.1	7.9
5–10	1.0	3.3	0.9	1.4	3.0
11+	0.8	0.9	0.6	1.1	2.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	22,042	4,381	8,241	5,330	8,630

of temporary out-migrants is not so obvious. The reasons, destinations, and characteristics of the movers may provide fuller insights.

A majority of the population in all types of urban locations did not make any short-term out-migration during the year preceding the survey (Table 11). The degree of stability varied, however, by location and by gender. Almost three-fourths of the males in giant, medium, and small cities were nonmovers in 1986; but in big cities and in towns, the level of stability was lower, just under two-thirds. In every location, however, females were more stable than males, with between 75 and 85 percent reporting no short-term out-movement in the previous year. While these data point to the stability of a high proportion of men and women in all locations, that at least one-fifth to one-third moved at least once during the year points to the prevalence of mobility (broadly defined) for China's urban population.

Interestingly, for men who experienced short-term out-migration in the year preceding the survey, a majority of those in giant and big cities did so only once, whereas many more of those in medium and small cities and especially in towns reported frequent moves. For example, in towns 16 percent of all men and 43 percent of those who made at least one move reported having made five or more moves during the year. By contrast, in giant cities

this was true of only 6 percent of all men and only 22 percent of those who made at least one move. In fact, among males who moved, there was a clear inverse relation between size of urban place and frequency of movement.

For females, beyond the high percentage of nonmovers, a single move was the most common pattern in all urban locations except towns; and even in towns, the division between single and multiple movers was almost equal. Unlike males, females showed no clear relation between frequency of movement and size of urban place. Whereas more women in towns moved five or more times (5 percent of all women and 21 percent of all movers) than did those in giant cities (2 percent and 10 percent, respectively), the town females closely resembled those in big cities.

The specific reasons for the closer similarity between patterns for towns and big cities remain to be determined. Although some insights may be gained from the analysis that follows, fuller evaluation must await the availability of the data for multivariate analysis. Attention here turns next to the sociodemographic composition of the short-term out-migrants and how they differed from the other migration-status groups.

In contrast to both temporary in-migrants and nonmigrants, short-term out-migrants were heavily male (Table 12). For example, in giant cities, the sex ratio of the temporary in-migrants was only 83.7 males per 100 females, and for nonmigrants it was 96.8 (cf. Table 2); but for short-term out-migrants it was 151.1. Moreover, this ratio was the lowest among the five residence categories. The ratio was highest (201.9) for big cities and ranged between 166 and 190 for the medium and small cities and for towns. In every location except giant cities, the ratio for the short-term out-migrants was at least twice as high as for the temporary in-migrants. Clearly, short-term absences from urban places are much more common among men than women, possibly because more such moves are made for job-related reasons, rather than personal and family ones.

Differentials also extend to age composition (Table 13). For all types of places, a higher percentage of persons were of ages 25–44 among short-

Table 12. Sex ratios of short-term out-migrants, by destination and current residence

Current residence	Place of destination			
	City	Town	Rural	Total
Giant city	148.6	161.5	158.4	151.1
Big city	158.2	188.7	314.8	201.9
Medium city	181.2	229.0	186.0	190.3
Small city	186.5	170.9	125.0	166.3
Town	185.7	146.4	145.0	162.2

Table 13. Ages of short-term out-migrants, by current residence (percentage distribution)

Age	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
< 15	6.8	8.3	7.1	10.0	16.5
15–24	19.6	21.3	20.9	22.9	40.3
25–44	42.3	48.9	44.9	42.3	35.6
45–59	23.3	18.3	21.7	19.3	5.2
60+	8.0	3.2	5.4	5.5	2.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	9,875	2,756	3,414	2,399	5,595

term out-migrants than among either temporary in-migrants or nonmigrants (cf. Table 3). Among the five types of places, this varied for short-term in-migrants between 36 percent in towns and 49 percent in big cities, compared with a range for temporary in-migrants of 18 percent in big cities to 32 percent in giant cities. The comparable range for nonmigrants was 22 percent in towns to 29 percent in giant cities. Except for towns, the percentages in the age group of 45–59 also were greater for short-term out-migrants than for either temporary in-migrants or nonmigrants.

These findings support the possibility that job-related factors may be more important in accounting for temporary out-migration from, than for in-migration to, urban places. Such an expectation is reinforced by the finding that far fewer short-term out-migrants were aged persons, between 2 and 8 percent for the various urban categories, compared with 20 to 31 percent for temporary in-migrants and 7 to 12 percent for the nonmigrants. The differentials were less sharp for children, and less consistent by type of residence. That fewer short-term out-migrants were found in the 15–24 age group (again, except for towns) suggests that at this early stage of work and family life, incentives for movement away from cities are relatively weak; the same does not hold for temporary out-migration from towns, where the greater than average proportion in the age groups 15–44 points to short-term out-migration being a major behavioral trait among younger adults, who are probably attracted to city opportunities.

Differentials also characterized the labor force and occupational composition of the short-term out-migrants (Tables 14 and 15). In accordance with the age differentials just noted, few short-term out-migrants were retirees, and small percentages were found in the student group, especially in comparison with nonmigrants (cf. Table 4). Overall, few of the short-term out-migrants were not employed, attesting to the greater role economic factors played in their movement. For example, in giant cities, 22 percent

Table 14. Labor force status and occupational composition of male short-term out-migrants, by current residence (percentage distribution)

Labor force status and occupation	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Employed	80.6	86.9	86.2	80.6	81.8
Workers	35.2	47.5	38.5	30.5	32.0
Peasants	1.9	9.7	3.4	8.3	3.1
Cadres	21.7	12.9	22.9	21.2	23.0
Office workers	5.9	6.3	8.0	6.4	7.8
Technical personnel	11.4	8.9	9.5	8.3	7.6
Commercial	2.5	0.8	2.1	2.5	5.6
Military personnel	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.9	0.3
Others	1.6	0.8	1.7	2.5	2.4
Not employed	14.0	6.7	7.5	10.1	10.7
Retired	5.3	2.6	3.8	3.7	3.9
Reemployed	1.8	0.4	0.5	1.0	0.9
Students	5.4	2.3	1.9	3.9	3.0
Awaiting job/school	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.9	1.7
Houseworkers	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
Other not employed	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.5	1.1
No answer	5.4	6.5	6.2	9.3	7.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	5,947	1,843	2,238	1,498	3,461

of the male nonmigrant population was not working (Table 4), compared with 18 percent of the male temporary in-migrants (Table 6) but only 14 percent of the male short-term out-migrants (Table 14). In towns, the corresponding percentages were 27 percent for male nonmigrants, 17 percent for temporary in-migrants, and only 11 percent for short-term out-migrants. For females, similar differences emerged, with the lower percentage of short-term out-migrants who were houseworkers being especially notable.

By contrast, compared with temporary in-migrants, more of the short-term out-migrants were generally workers, cadres, office workers, and technical personnel. Far fewer, as one would expect given their urban origins, were peasants; but even here, fewer short-term out-migrants were peasants than was the case among nonmigrants in comparable urban locations. The occupational composition of the short-term out-migrants thus embraced a wide spectrum; yet the operation of selectivity is evidenced when they are compared with the nonmigrants in the households in which they lived. Although the percentages of workers were similar for both groups, more

Table 15. Labor force status and occupational composition of female short-term out-migrants, by current residence (percentage distribution)

Labor force status and occupation	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Employed	66.8	74.8	69.1	67.5	61.6
Workers	30.7	30.4	26.9	26.6	26.6
Peasants	2.1	18.3	5.2	12.1	2.6
Cadres	11.6	6.6	10.9	9.0	8.2
Office workers	5.9	6.4	6.3	4.8	5.5
Technical personnel	9.6	8.0	10.0	6.1	6.5
Commercial	5.6	3.2	6.7	6.5	8.8
Military personnel	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Others	1.3	1.9	3.0	2.4	3.4
Not employed	24.3	13.4	22.0	21.1	26.6
Retired	10.7	1.6	7.1	3.8	3.4
Reemployed	2.3	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.5
Students	5.3	4.1	3.8	5.1	5.4
Awaiting job/school	1.0	1.4	1.9	2.0	2.6
Houseworkers	4.5	5.4	8.4	9.4	13.4
Other not employed	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.3
No answer	8.9	11.9	8.9	11.3	11.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	3,932	913	1,176	901	2,134

of the short-term out-migrants, especially men, were cadres, office workers, and technical personnel. This finding may reflect the need in other locations for persons with special skills or administrative responsibilities, resulting in their temporary absence from usual places of employment and residence. Short-term out-migration from urban places was heavily toward other urban places (Table 16). Fewer than one-third of the out-migrants in any location moved to rural places; this varied from a high of just over 30 percent of those originating in big cities and towns to only 19 percent of those moving from giant cities. Men and women followed basically the same pattern.

Whether urban places actually gain in the migration exchange cannot be ascertained from these statistics because of the differential coverage of the urban and rural out-migrants. All those who made any move out of urban places during 1986 were presumably reported because they were registered in the households sampled in the survey. The only rural temporary out-migrants to be reported, however, were those living in the ur-

Table 16. Destination of short-term out-migrants, by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

	Place of destination					
Current residence	City	Town	Rural	Other	Total %	Total number
Both sexes						
Giant city	63.0	15.6	19.0	2.4	100.0	9,875
Big city	52.0	15.7	31.3	1.0	100.0	2,756
Medium city	58.6	18.6	22.2	0.6	100.0	3,414
Small city	59.5	15.9	24.0	0.6	100.0	2,399
Town	46.2	22.3	30.4	1.1	100.0	5,594
Males						
Giant city	62.6	16.0	19.3	2.1	100.0	5,943
Big city	47.6	15.4	35.7	1.3	100.0	1,843
Medium city	57.6	19.7	22.0	0.6	100.0	2,238
Small city	62.0	16.1	21.4	0.5	100.0	1,498
Town	48.5	21.4	29.1	1.0	100.0	3,461
Females						
Giant city	63.6	15.0	18.5	3.0	100.0	3,932
Big city	60.8	16.5	22.5	0.2	100.0	913
Medium city	60.5	16.4	22.5	0.5	100.0	1,176
Small city	55.3	15.6	28.4	0.7	100.0	901
Town	42.4	23.7	32.6	1.4	100.0	2,134

ban households sampled in the survey. Omitted were those who had temporarily moved to urban places at some point during 1986 and since returned to their rural origins, and those in urban places but living outside household units. The rural out-migrants encompassed by the survey were therefore underrepresented, and as a result, net measures of temporary migration cannot be ascertained.

Nonetheless, the substantial number of short-term out-migrants from urban places stresses that temporary migration is a two-way process. In assessing the impact of temporary migration on urban places, one must recognize that while large numbers are moving into cities and towns, substantial numbers of city and town residents are moving out for various periods of time. To what extent the volume and characteristics of these opposing streams balance each other must await more comprehensive coverage of temporary in-migration. The data assessed here suggest that the two groups may differ from each other considerably, although some of their differences relate to the extent of coverage given by the survey to the two groups.

This assumption is reinforced by the differences in reasons for move-

Table 17. Reasons for out-migration of short-term out-migrants, by current residence and sex (percentage distribution)

Reason for migration	Current residence				
	Giant city	Big city	Medium city	Small city	Town
Males					
Work-related	41.1	29.3	53.8	44.5	48.3
Training	2.7	3.3	2.9	4.4	4.5
Visiting	27.7	50.0	30.5	37.9	35.2
Hospital care	4.2	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.2
Travel	21.3	12.9	7.9	7.5	6.0
Other	2.9	2.4	2.7	3.5	3.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	5,947	1,843	2,238	1,498	3,461
Females					
Work-related	16.5	14.4	22.0	18.9	14.1
Training	2.0	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.7
Visiting	40.5	51.2	51.1	58.2	59.3
Hospital care	3.2	3.7	3.4	2.7	4.0
Travel	34.7	23.1	16.8	14.0	13.1
Other	3.2	3.5	2.4	2.0	4.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	3,932	913	1,176	901	2,132

ment that characterize the two groups (Table 17). Regardless of type of location, more of the short-term out-migrants than of the temporary in-migrants moved for work-related reasons (cf. Table 10). This was true of both men and women, and for many of the location categories the differentials were substantial. For example, among men, work was cited as the reason for moving among 29 percent of the short-term out-migrants from big cities, but only 9 percent of the temporary in-migrants; for towns the differences were even sharper, with work-related reasons motivating almost half (48 percent) of the short-term out-migrants in contrast to only 7 percent of the temporary in-migrants. Similar, though somewhat attenuated, patterns of differentials characterized women. By contrast, fewer, and usually far fewer, moved out than moved in for visits. Again, the differences were more marked for men than for women. For example, compared with the 78 percent of temporary male in-migrants to towns who came as visitors, only 35 percent of the short-term out-migrants left towns to visit elsewhere. For women the corresponding percentages were 76 and 59.

Except in big cities, work-related reasons were the most important category of short-term out-migration of men; by contrast, visiting was the primary reason for temporary in-migration. For women, visiting was the major reason for temporary movement into and out of all urban places. Visits accounted for a majority of short-term out-moves in all but giant cities and for even greater proportions of temporary in-migration.

For men, the third most important reason for short-term out-migration was travel (touring), especially for giant- and big-city residents. Travel for reasons other than visiting therefore seems much more common among residents of larger urban locations than smaller ones. It accounted for a much larger proportion of short-term out-migration than for temporary in-migration in all locations. This pattern is consistent with the fact that a large majority of the temporary in-migrants came from towns and rural locations. Much higher percentages of women than of men reported travel as the reason for their short-term moves. In fact, for giant and big cities travel constituted the second most important reason for the out-migration of women, ranking above work-related reasons. As with men, travel was far more important for short-term out-migration than for temporary in-migration at all levels of the urban hierarchy.

Noneconomic factors—travel and visiting—were thus responsible for the large majority of all short-term out-migration from urban areas among women. But as with men, the importance of travel was much greater for women living in giant and big cities than for those in smaller urban places. Data not presented here show that for both men and women, high percentages (70 percent or more) of short-term out-migrants in all locations whose reason for moving was travel had cities as their destination, whereas the most frequent destination of those reporting visiting was usually rural places. Visiting and traveling thus represent quite different processes and differ considerably in the extent to which they provide links to rural areas.

DISCUSSION

As in other developing countries, policymakers in China are very concerned about the pace of urban growth. In an attempt to control such growth and the flow of migration into cities from rural areas, the Chinese government has had a well-defined policy of regulating population mobility, which has restricted movement from rural places to cities, especially larger cities. Since 1978, however, when rural economic reforms were introduced, population mobility has increased significantly. Because of legal restrictions, this movement has been largely in the form of temporary migration, rather than permanent relocation. Reports of surveys in several of China's major cities indicate that temporary migration has become a major mechanism of population exchange between rural and urban places and that millions of persons have been involved. Attention to such movement therefore becomes

essential to any assessment of changes in the social and economic situation in urban and rural China and of the overall urbanization process.

Data from the 1986 CASS-sponsored Survey of Migration in 74 Cities and Towns of China provide a unique opportunity to evaluate the volume and direction of temporary movement and the reasons for it, and the differences between temporary and permanent migrants living in China's cities and towns. Because the survey also collected information on nonmigrants, comparative analyses by migration status are possible. Unfortunately, the information collected on temporary migrants was restricted to those living in family and collective households, and, by definition, included only those persons who had been resident at their place of destination for less than one year without a permanent change in registration. It excluded temporary migrants living outside such units, who, according to other research, are quite numerous and also differ with respect to their reasons for moving, origin, and characteristics. This limitation must be kept in mind in making any generalizations to temporary migrants as a whole from the CASS data.

Another major limitation of the data lies in the limited number of tabulations available to researchers, who were restricted to those tables already published by CASS. As a result, no special cross-tabulations or multivariate analyses were possible to meet the needs of any specific project. Furthermore, the tabulations that were available were often inconsistent in their control variables, so that parallel analyses of the various migration status groups were not always possible. Within these constraints, therefore, only a partial basis exists for evaluating temporary migration to urban places. The resulting analysis nonetheless provides important insights into the relative roles and characteristics of the various migration status groups in urban places.

The findings document that, for urban places, temporary movement has become numerically more important than permanent migration. In 1986, 3,628 temporary migrants were enumerated in the sample survey in contrast to approximately 1,900 permanent urban migrants. A majority of the temporary migrants, however, had been living at their destinations for less than one month. This was particularly true of those under age 25 and the aged. The number of temporary migrants was clearly underenumerated, because only those living in households were included in the survey, and only those resident in households for less than one year were categorized as temporary movers; others were included in the permanent in-migrant group. The importance of temporary migration is thus even greater than indicated by the survey data, thereby suggesting that, in comparison with the large volume of temporary migrants, permanent migration to cities is relatively modest in scope and has been quite successfully controlled by the government.

The impact of policy on migration is reflected as well in the origins of the various migration groups. Consistent with the control on rural-to-urban

permanent migration, the greater ease of such mobility between cities of comparable size, and the lack of constraints on temporary movement, compared with recent permanent in-migrants (1985–86), is the finding that fewer of the temporary migrants to medium and large cities originated in other cities and more came from rural areas. This corroborates the role of temporary migration as a mechanism for rural populations to take advantage of the opportunities in cities. By contrast, a higher percentage of temporary than of permanent migrants in towns originated in cities and fewer came from rural areas. Even here, however, a majority of temporary migrants were of rural origin, attesting to the important role that towns play in providing markets and other economic opportunities for village dwellers.

The findings also reveal that temporary migrants differ from the nonmigrants and recent permanent in-migrants in their sex composition, age, and occupations. Temporary migration, regardless of destination, is selective of females. The higher proportion of women may be related both to the importance that visiting relatives and friends has for women as a motive for temporary movement, and to the important role that women play in the free markets. The importance of visiting and economic factors as motives for temporary migration is also evidenced in the higher percentage of temporary movers in the CASS survey who were middle aged or aged and the lower percentage who were children and persons of ages 15–24. The surprisingly small percentage of 15–24 year old temporary migrants may reflect the sample bias, resulting from restriction of coverage of temporary migrants to those living in household units and probably with relatives.

The occupational distributions show that fewer of the temporary migrants than of the permanent migrants were workers, cadres, and technical personnel, and many more were peasants. The occupational differentials strongly suggest that temporary migration provides a mechanism for peasants to settle in the city, even if only for a limited time, and in so doing provides a basis for developing linkages between urban places of all types and rural areas. The higher percentage of workers, cadres, and technical personnel among permanent in-migrants is consistent with the fact that such persons usually move in relation to work assignments and are officially permitted to change residence. Clearly, government policies strongly influence the occupational composition of the permanent in-migrants. The ability to circumvent the official controls on permanent change in residence helps to explain the occupational composition of the temporary migrants.

In evaluating the relative importance and characteristics of various forms of migration, we find that size of urban place of destination definitely plays a role. Here again, policy considerations are important, but the availability of economic and other opportunities are also factors in migration. Giant cities, to which migration is most carefully controlled, also present the

greatest opportunities and have often been the sites for major development. As a result, they contain substantial percentages of permanent migrants, but these are still lower than in cities of other size classes; the proportion of temporary migrants in giant cities is, however, quite comparable. Many of the temporary migrants covered by the survey came to cities for noneconomic reasons, drawn by the cities' superior cultural, educational, and health facilities, as well as for family reasons. Because of the concerted efforts made to develop towns, which have included an easing of restrictions on permanent migration, towns contain high proportions of both permanent and temporary migrants. The recency of town development is reflected in their high percentage of recent permanent in-migrants.

The data on short-term out-migration (defined as an absence during 1986 of one or more days) indicate high levels of such mobility compared with the observed levels of recent permanent in-migration and temporary migration. This difference obtained partly because temporary migrants to urban places who had moved out by the time of the survey were not counted since they no longer lived in the sampled households. In part, the difference is the result of the broad range of moves encompassed in the temporary out-migration. Reflecting these factors, as many as one-fourth of the population surveyed had made such moves, with the majority reporting only one absence. Almost twice as many men as women reported short-term out-migration, and among males it was heavily related to work and therefore selective of men who were workers, cadres, or technicians. Such selectivity for short-term out-migrants is especially striking when compared with the composition of temporary in-migrants. Not surprisingly, given the reasons for movement, in all locations but towns, a majority of the out-migrants had gone to other cities; relatively more short-term out-movement from towns was to other towns and to rural areas.

The prevalence of this short-term movement suggests numerous intercity linkages and a widespread exchange of information, expertise, and skills. That up to one-third of the movers had rural destinations, however, reinforces the role of temporary mobility in strengthening ties between urban and rural places. Unfortunately, the published data do not allow determination of whether some of the short-term out-migrants were previous in-migrants and whether the out-movement constituted a temporary return to place of origin. A high percentage of women reported that their moves were for visiting, as did up to one-third of the men, suggesting that out-migration may indeed be circulation to home place.

Short-term out-migration from urban places thus complements to some degree the in-movement that is the major focus of this paper. It also suggests that although temporary in-migrants may put added strains on the urban infrastructure, such pressures may not be so great as the numbers of temporary in-migrants suggest, since, concurrently, substantial numbers of the permanent residents of cities (natives and permanent in-migrants)

are away from their home communities, with as many as one-third being in rural areas. Temporary out-migration from cities is therefore an important aspect of the dynamics of population movement in China.

Overall, the findings from the CASS survey suggest that temporary in-migration has come to complement and often to substitute for permanent relocation. Given China's policies for controlling permanent movement to cities, temporary mobility has provided an important mechanism for allowing the population to cope with rural labor surpluses. It has also been instrumental in redistributing the population to meet labor force needs, whether in rural areas where skilled labor is often in short supply or in urban areas where service workers are in high demand. Because such movement does not involve as much official intervention, it can also be responsive much more quickly to labor market needs than the more controlled permanent migration. Moreover, it allows individuals to engage in noneconomic mobility and thereby develop informal urban-rural links that can become an integral part of the modernization process.

Because of the magnitude of the temporary migration streams, concerted efforts must be made to assess their effects both on the cities' abilities to absorb the added population and on the family structure and welfare of rural areas. For such efforts to be comprehensive, data are needed not only on the nonmigrants, permanent in-migrants, and temporary migrants living in urban households, as are provided by the CASS survey, but also on all segments of temporary migrants and on the rural population. In addition, clearer distinctions between those who move for economic reasons and those who move for purposes of visiting are needed to allow more meaningful assessment of the relation of temporary movement to development and urbanization. The CASS survey is an important step in helping us to understand the full complexity of mobility in China and as such provides valuable benchmark data. It launches us well on the way toward enabling Chinese scholars and policymakers to gain a much fuller understanding of the role of all forms of mobility in enhancing the quality of life of the Chinese population. At the same time, by documenting the volume of temporary migration, it points to the strong need to assess the negative effects that temporary movement may have by placing additional pressures on the infrastructure at places of destination. Whether the benefits experienced by the communities at origin and destination and by the individual migrants and their families compensate for added costs resulting from such movement deserves concerted research attention. The findings from such assessments should be especially valuable to policymakers confronted with the decision of whether more or less temporary movement should be encouraged in the future and what role such movement should serve in relation to permanent changes in residence and to the urbanization process generally.

Appendix Table A. Regional distribution of the investigated cities and towns of various sizes

Provinces, cities, and autonomous regions	Heibei	Inner Mongolia	Liaoning	Heilongjiang	Shanghai	Zhejiang	Jiangxi	Shandong	Henan	Hubei	Hunan	Guangdong	Sichuan	Guizhou	Shaanxi	Ningxia	Total
Giant cities	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	15
Big cities	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	6
Medium cities	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	12
Small cities	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	10
Towns	1	2	0	6	0	1	3	1	2	5	1	1	1	6	1	0	31
Total	4	5	1	9	1	4	6	4	5	9	4	4	4	9	4	1	74

Source: PRI, CASS (1988:330).

Appendix Table B. Sampling rates for the various-sized cities and towns

No. of households	Sampling rate (per 1,000)
≤9,000	20
10,000–44,000	8
45,000–99,000	4
100,000–199,000	2
200,000–299,000	1.3
≥300,000	1

Source: PRI, CASS (1988:329).

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To the United States and into the Labor Force: Occupational Expectations of Filipino and Korean Immigrant Women

Maruja Milagros B. Asis

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Maruja Milagros B. Asis

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ABSTRACT This paper describes the occupational changes expected by Filipino and Korean women as they prepare for immigration to the United States. It examines how women's human capital endowments, life-cycle characteristics, and social resources in the destination affect their expectations about working; identifies the determinants of their occupational choices; and compares the occupational expectations of women with those of men.

The 1986 Immigrant Pre-departure Assessment Surveys, conducted in Manila and Seoul, provided the data for this paper. A subsample of the 1986 cohort of immigrant visa holders, consisting of currently married women, was selected for further analysis. The subsample comprised a significant proportion of Filipino and Korean immigrants. Although married immigrant women are generally thought to be less active economically than men or single women, in practice they assume an important economic role in the country of destination.

The findings reveal that expecting to participate in the labor force was equally central to women and men even before they immigrated. The proportion expecting to work in the United States was larger, especially among women, than the proportion who had worked in the country of origin. A majority of both women and men expected to work in the service occupations.

The results suggest that women's work expectations were affected by more factors than men's work expectations. In addition to human capital and social resources, life-cycle characteristics (specifically the husband's ethnicity and having a preschool child) significantly affected women's expectation of joining the labor force.

The determinants of occupational expectations show less defined sex differences. Except for education and age, which had the same effects on the occupational expectations of all immigrants, the effects of the other predictors varied not only by sex but also by national origin. These findings imply that although gender may be a basis for the different immigration experiences of women and men, such differences may also arise from national origin, and these differences may even diminish on account of men's and women's common status as immigrants.

Between 1930 and 1980 more females than males immigrated to the United States each year (Houstoun, Kramer, and Barrett 1984). Among Asian immigrants, particularly Filipinos and Koreans, females continue to outnumber males in U.S. immigration even today.[1] Despite their numerical

1. According to Tyree and Donato (1986:22), females comprise about 45 percent of emigrants from countries for which data are available. They note that females are the majority of immigrants in three countries—the United States, Israel, and Argentina. For the two latter countries, female predominance started as early as the 1950s (Tyree and Donato 1986:24). By comparison, female predominance in U.S. immigration started earlier, in 1930, and continued until after 1980. Although the sex composition of all immigrants to the United States tends to be more balanced in the 1980s, female immigrants from Asia (including the Philippines and South Korea) continue to outnumber their male counterparts.

significance, little attention has been paid to the experience of female immigrants. This neglect of female immigrants is particularly noticeable in the area of economic adjustment, where the occupational attainment of immigrant men has been the subject of most analyses (Stark 1986; Hartman and Stinner 1982; Kats 1982).

Female immigrants, and in particular immigrant women as workers, were left out of most migration analyses until the second half of the 1970s (Morokvasic 1983). The earlier literature makes occasional references to them as wives or mothers of migrants. This limited view makes "migrant women . . . visible only within the framework of the family" and "has led to a conceptualization of migrant women as followers, dependants, unproductive persons, isolated, ignorant" (Morokvasic 1983:16).

It has also affected policymaking, to the disadvantage of women. For example, in Canada before 1974, women admitted as dependents of a sponsor were not given priority for government-funded language and skills-upgrading programs (Boyd 1986). Because it is generally assumed that women move only because their husbands or families do, their migration is thought to be less important and their economic potential is often downplayed. In contrast, men are not perceived as following or accompanying other relatives; instead, economic goals are assumed to loom large in their motivation to migrate and greater importance is attached to their economic roles.

Some historical accounts, however, depict immigrant women in a less traditional light. Prior to the large-scale entrance of American women into the labor force beginning in the 1940s (Waite 1981), a substantial proportion of immigrant women in the United States of various ethnic origins were already working outside the home (Hesse 1979; Glenn 1986; Weatherford 1986; Weinberg 1988; Yim 1989). Those who did not work outside the home for pay also contributed to family income by working at home. Taking in boarders or laundry was a common form of homework initiated by women.

Immigrant women joined the work force because their husbands' or fathers' wages were not enough to support a family. In some cases, immigrant women contributed much-needed cash resources not only to their families in the United States but also to the families they had left behind, to whom they sent remittances (Diner 1983; Weatherford 1986). Although joining their families may be the precipitating motive for women's migration, it need not be the only motivation. It is possible, as Lim (1988) suggests, that many women cite family-related reasons for migrating because that is the socially acceptable rationale. Moreover, because migration is a social process, what begins as a family migration can evolve into "economic migration as a strategy to achieve an economic target with the husband" (Morokvasic 1984:896).

The economic importance of women in contemporary migration is more widely recognized today (Morokvasic 1983; Tyree and Donato 1986). In the

United States, the labor force participation of immigrant women surpasses that of the native-born, and Asian American women have recorded the most active involvement in the work force (Gardner, Robey, and Smith 1985). Included among the economically active immigrant women are those who never worked outside the home prior to their immigration (Guendelman and Perez-Itriago 1986; Prieto 1986; Foner 1986). Some immigrant men, of course, may also have a similar lack of work experience. But because men are expected to work, their finding employment in the destination area is nothing out of the ordinary. For women, whose identity and central role is traditionally that of the family care giver, assuming a work role suggests a more fundamental change.

This new experience, writes Wilson (1978:50), "brings the first hint, the first distant suggestion, that for women an independent economic identity is possible." Migration makes this possible by providing to women a non-domestic context in which their productive labor can take place and be rewarded. In turn, having access to and control over cash resources can empower women. Although it may not lead to radical changes in gender roles, at the very least women become more aware that they have the right to question the status quo, to challenge it, and to initiate changes to improve their position relative to men's (Bhachu 1988:16).

My objective in this paper is to examine the factors that contribute to high levels of labor force participation among immigrant women. To appreciate the potential effects of migration on the economic roles of women, the present analysis draws on the occupational expectations of Filipino and Korean women as they anticipate their forthcoming immigration to the United States. Of relevance to the analysis are the following questions: What do women think of their occupational prospects in the destination? How do human capital endowments, life-cycle conditions, and social resources at the destination promote their expectations of working? What factors determine their entry into certain occupational niches? How do women's expected occupational patterns compare with men's?

BACKGROUND OF FILIPINO AND KOREAN IMMIGRATION

The Old Immigration

The stream of Filipino and Korean immigration to the United States began in the early 1900s when young, oftentimes single, men were recruited to work in the sugar plantations of Hawaii or as agricultural workers in the West Coast. Only a handful of females, the wives or daughters of male workers, were among that wave of immigrants.

Of the estimated 102,069 Filipinos who arrived in Hawaii from 1907 to 1929, 87 percent were males (Lasker 1969). On the mainland, the sex ratio of Filipino immigrants was likewise heavily male: 14 to 1 in California (Bloch

1930 as cited in Navarro 1976:20), 33 to 3 in Washington State, and 46 to 6 in New York State (Catapusan 1940 as cited in Navarro 1976:20).

Among the 7,226 Koreans who came to Hawaii between 1903 and 1905, only 10 percent were women (Yu 1987; Min 1988a). The female population among Korean communities increased somewhat between 1910 and 1924 with the arrival of 1,000 "picture brides," women whose immigrant husbands selected them as brides after seeing photographs of them.

As with most Asian immigrant groups, the sex composition of Filipinos and Koreans in the United States was mostly male until much later (Kim and Otani 1983:120). The great need for male agricultural workers in the early 1900s favored the nearly unrestricted immigration of Filipinos and Koreans. In the case of Filipinos, their status as U.S. nationals allowed them to travel freely to the United States.[2] The passage of the 1924 National Origins Quota Act put a stop to this flow. Aimed at preserving the European (specifically northwestern European) background of immigrants, the legislation limited the number of new immigrants to 2 percent of a nationality's population in the United States as determined by the 1890 census, and set a minimum quota of 100 immigrants for each nationality (Levine, Hill, and Warren 1985). Filipinos became subject to the quota system on account of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which promised the granting of Philippine independence in 1946. Between 1935 and 1946, Filipinos were subject to a quota of 50 persons per year (Pido 1986).

Further immigration from Korea was stopped even before the 1924 Quota Act took effect. Korea, which Japan annexed in 1910, was pressured by the Japanese government to curtail Korean immigration to the United States. The motive of the Japanese government was to protect its nationals in the United States (particularly those working in Hawaiian plantations), who were being replaced by Korean workers (Min 1988a). The immigration of some 1,000 Korean picture brides between 1910 and 1924 was about the only sizable immigration that took place after 1905.

Immigration policies affecting Filipinos and Koreans were relaxed slightly after World War II to allow for the immigration of war brides and orphans (Yu 1987; Pido 1986). Filipinos who were stranded in the United States and those who had served in the U.S. Armed Forces were granted immigrant status (Pido 1986). However, it was not until 1965 that the pattern and level of Filipino and Korean immigration changed substantially.

Immigration after 1965

A major overhaul of U.S. immigration policies came about with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965. The 1965 reforms did

2. The United States acquired the Philippines from Spain at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. As provided by the Treaty of Paris, signed on 10 December 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States for U.S. $25 million.

Table 1. Visa allocation system, 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act

I. NUMERICALLY EXEMPT IMMIGRANTS

Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens
- Spouses
- Unmarried minor children
- Parents of adult U.S. citizens

Special immigrants
- Certain ministers of religion
- Certain former employees of the U.S. government abroad
- Certain persons who have lost U.S. citizenship

II. NUMERICALLY LIMITED IMMIGRANTS (290,000):

Preference category	Percentage or no. of visas
First: Unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens and their children	20% or 34,000
Second: Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens	20% or 34,000[a]
Third: Members of professions and artists of exceptional ability and their spouses and children	10% or 17,000
Fourth: Married children of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children	10% or 17,000[a]
Fifth: Brothers and sisters of adult U.S. citizens and their spouses and children	24% or 40,800[a]
Sixth: Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which labor is in short supply in the United States and their spouses and children	10% or 17,000
Seventh: Refugees to whom conditional entry or status may be granted	6% or 10,200
Nonpreference: Any applicant not entitled to any of the above preferences. Any number not required for preference applicants	

a. Numbers not used in higher preferences may be used in this preference.

away with national origins as the basis for admission to the United States and established family reunification, labor requirements, and accommodation of refugees as the new criteria. The original 1965 immigration reforms and the current policies are outlined in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. Some changes have been introduced since 1965, the most recent being the

Table 2. Current visa allocation system

I. NUMERICALLY EXEMPT IMMIGRANTS

Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens
- Spouses
- Unmarried minor children
- Parents of adult U.S. citizens

Special immigrants
- Certain ministers of religion
- Certain former employees of the U.S. government abroad
- Certain persons who have lost U.S. citizenship

II. NUMERICALLY LIMITED IMMIGRANTS (270,000):

Preference category	Percentage or no. of visas
First: Unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens and their children	20% or 54,000
Second: Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens	20% or 70,000[a]
Third: Members of professions and artists of exceptional ability and their spouses and children	10% or 27,000
Fourth: Married children of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children	10% or 27,000[a]
Fifth: Brothers and sisters of adult U.S. citizens and their spouses and children	24% or 64,800[a]
Sixth: Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which labor is in short supply in the U.S., and their spouses and children	10% or 27,000
Nonpreference: other qualified applicants	Any numbers not used above[b]

Note: A minor is under 21 years of age; an adult is 21 or older. Refugees are not included in the visa allocation system.

a. Numbers not used in higher preferences may be used in this preference.

b. Nonpreference numbers have been unavailable since 1978 because of high demand under the preference categories (U.S., GAO, 1988).

1986 Immigration and Reform Act; but the basic provisions of the 1965 reforms still stand.[3]

Under current immigration policies (Table 2), immigrants are admitted in two broad classes: the numerically exempt category and the preference

3. The 1986 Immigration and Control Act was directed at reducing illegal immigration; it had little effect on legal immigration.

category. Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens (specifically parents, spouses, and children) and some special immigrants fall into the numerically exempt category; they may enter the United States in unlimited numbers. Preference immigrants are subject to a worldwide quota of 270,000 immigrants, or a maximum of 20,000 immigrants per country. The admission of preference immigrants depends upon the availability of visa numbers in each of the seven preferences. As Table 2 shows, 74 percent of the quota are allotted to family immigrants, i.e., relatives of permanent resident aliens and other relatives of U.S. citizens. Only 20 percent are reserved for occupational immigrants.

The regional background of immigrants has changed radically since 1965. Asian immigration to the United States has shown the most dramatic and swift rise in the past three decades. From being a small contributor to total immigration in the decade of 1960–69, Asia has emerged as the major source region of immigrants in 1980–85, accounting for nearly one-half (Figure 1). Whereas in 1960 no Asian country figured among the 10 largest immigrant-sending countries (Fawcett and Cariño 1987), in 1988 five of the 10 major sending countries were Asian and none was European (U.S., INS, 1989).

Beginning in 1975, immigration from Indochina contributed to the growing size of Asian immigration. Indochinese immigration was triggered by the fall of the governments of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (Kampuchea) to communist forces in 1975 (Gordon 1987). The flow of refugees to the United States had two peak periods. The first wave of 130,000 Indochinese refugees, 95 percent of whom were Vietnamese and the rest mainly Kampuchean, arrived in 1975. The second wave, numbering 166,700, came in 1980 (Gordon 1987).[4]

Contributing the most to Asian immigration, however, has been the flow of immigrants from the Philippines and the Republic of Korea, which has been growing rapidly since 1965 (Figure 2). In 1988, 32 percent of Asian immigrants originated from those two countries (U.S., INS, 1989). Between 1979 and 1986 the Philippines and Korea ranked respectively next to Mexico as the second and third major source countries of immigrants to the United States. In 1988 Korea slipped to fourth place, following Mexico (first), the Philippines (second), and Haiti (third).[5]

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4. Refugees are eligible to apply for permanent resident status after one year of residence in the United States and are exempt from the annual worldwide quota of 270,000 immigrants. The number of refugee admissions for a given year is decided by the President, in consultation with Congress, on the basis of the worldwide refugee situation (U.S., INS 1989).

5. The increase from Haiti (from 14,819 in 1987 to 34,806 in 1988) reflected the large numbers of refugee adjustments under the Cuban and Haitian entrant provision (part of the 1986 Immigration and Reform Control Act). All of the refugees whose status was adjusted had lived in the United States since 1982 (U.S., INS 1989).

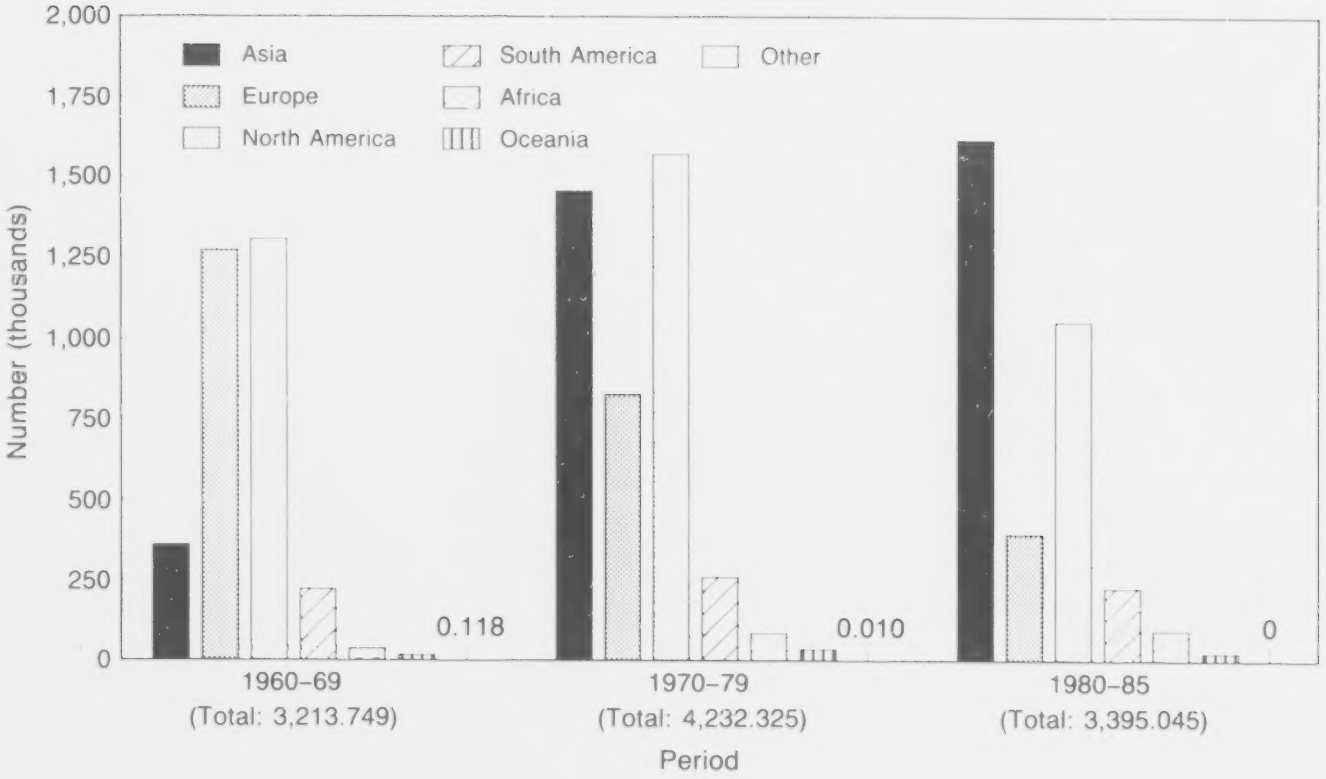

Figure 1. Immigrants admitted to the United States, by region of birth: 1960–85

Sources: INS Annual Reports, 1960-78; INS Statistical Yearbooks, 1979-85.

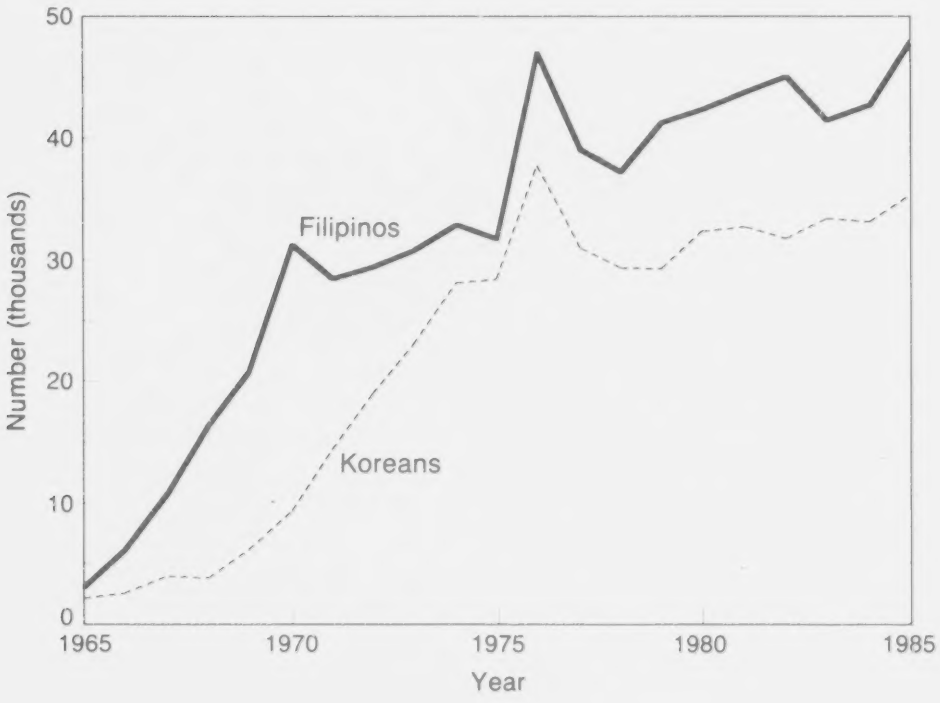

Figure 2. Filipino and Korean immigrants admitted to the United States: 1965–85

Sources: INS Annual Reports, 1966–78; INS Statistical Yearbooks, 1979–86.

Sex Composition of Recent Immigrants

Owing to the heavy policy emphasis on family reunification, it is family ties that facilitate the admission of new immigrants. Although the immigration policy is impartial to the sex of applicants, nonetheless more Asian females than males are admitted to the United States. An analysis of public-use tapes from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) illustrates how gender has influenced immigration chances. Unless otherwise indicated, the following discussion refers to Filipino and Korean immigration for the years 1972–85.

Between 1960 and 1985 females represented more than half of the immigrant streams from the Philippines and the Republic of Korea (Table 3). Sex differentials in the immigration process were especially pronounced among immediate relatives. Females predominated in almost all categories of immediate relatives in the Philippines (Figure 3) and in all categories in Korea (Figure 4), with the largest differentials obtaining among spouses.

Several factors account for female predominance in the immediate relatives category. In the case of spouses, more American men than American women marry foreign spouses. The Philippines and Korea are the second

Table 3. Total numbers of Filipino and Korean immigrants and percentages female: 1960–85

Year	Filipinos		Koreans	
	Total	% female	Total	% female
1960	2,954	67.5	1,507	75.8
1961	2,738	64.9	1,534	71.7
1962	3,437	64.8	1,538	76.5
1963	3,618	65.5	2,580	76.4
1964	3,006	65.1	2,362	80.8
1965	3,130	66.7	2,165	81.3
1966	6,093	58.7	2,492	76.1
1967	10,865	57.6	3,956	69.2
1968	16,371	58.6	3,811	70.7
1969	20,744	56.6	6,045	69.0
1970	31,203	57.4	9,314	67.3
1971	28,471	61.2	14,297	64.2
1972	29,376	60.1	18,876	61.8
1973	30,799	59.6	22,930	61.4
1974	32,857	60.3	28,028	60.2
1975	31,751	59.4	28,362	58.2
1976	47,019	60.1	37,690	61.6
1977	39,111	59.6	30,917	60.8
1978	37,216	59.6*	29,288	61.3*
1979	41,300	60.5	29,248	61.0
1980	42,316	59.5*	32,320	60.9*
1981	43,772	58.7*	32,663	59.6*
1982	45,102	56.1	31,724	57.9
1983	41,456	55.2	33,339	56.0
1984	42,768	58.5	33,042	58.4
1985	47,978	58.9	35,253	58.0

Source: INS Annual Reports, 1960–1978; and INS Statistical Yearbooks, 1979–1986.

* Percent female is based on INS public-use tapes. Cross-tabulation by sex is not available from INS reports for these years.

and third largest sources (after Mexico) of foreign wives of American men (Houstoun et al. 1984:931). Some of these international marriages are actually intraethnic marriages, i.e., those between foreign women and foreign-born men from the same ethnic background who have already obtained U.S. citizenship, reflecting the common tendency to marry within one's own group. However, the discrepancy between the large numbers of U.S. citizens who marry foreign women and the small numbers of naturalized males

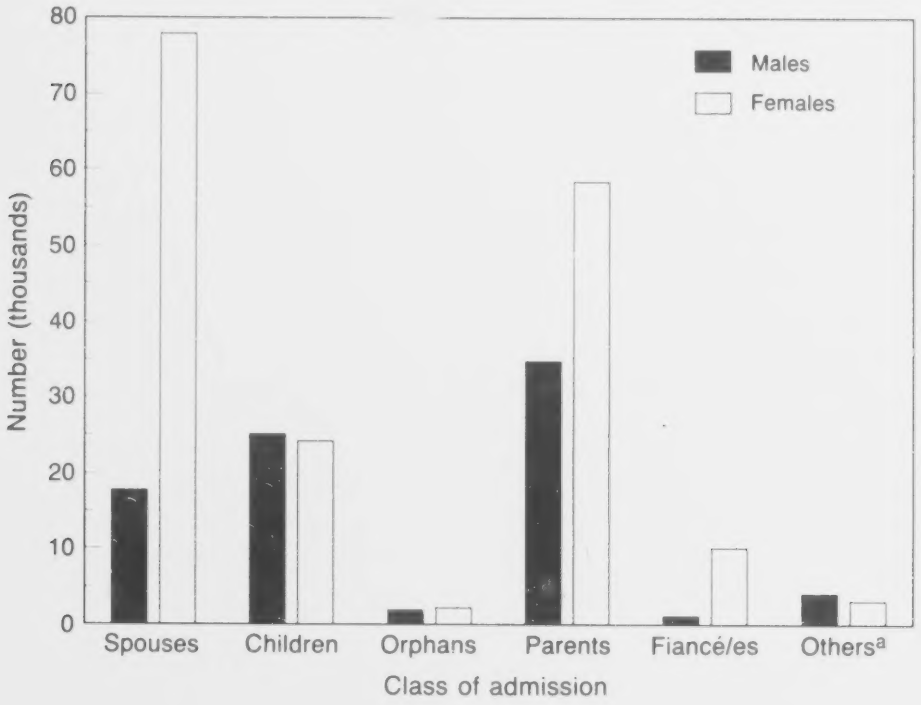

Figure 3. Filipino immigrants to the United States, by class of admission and sex: 1972–85

Source: INS public-use tapes, 1972–85.

a. "Others" is a residual category for nonimmediate relatives and nonrelatives of U.S. citizens.

who do so indicates that most of the international unions are between native-born American men and foreign women (Houstoun et al. 1984:932).

The widespread phenomenon of interethnic marriages between American men and Asian women can be attributed to several structural factors. The political and military connections between the United States on the one hand, and the Philippines and Korea on the other, have created conditions favorable to marriages between American men and Filipino or Korean women. Some 18,000 U.S. military personnel (mostly male) have been stationed in the Philippines at any given time in recent years (Harkavy 1982), and an estimated 42,000 U.S. troops are in Korea (Kabarov and Shegin 1985). Ruling out the propinquity factor (because of the considerable distance between the United States and the Philippines or Korea), Houstoun et al. (1984:932) suggest that the presence of young U.S. servicemen in the two countries promotes intermarriage between American-born men and Filipino or Korean women. American women are not sent overseas in such large numbers. Consequently, American men overseas and Filipino and Korean men have fewer opportunities to interact with American women.

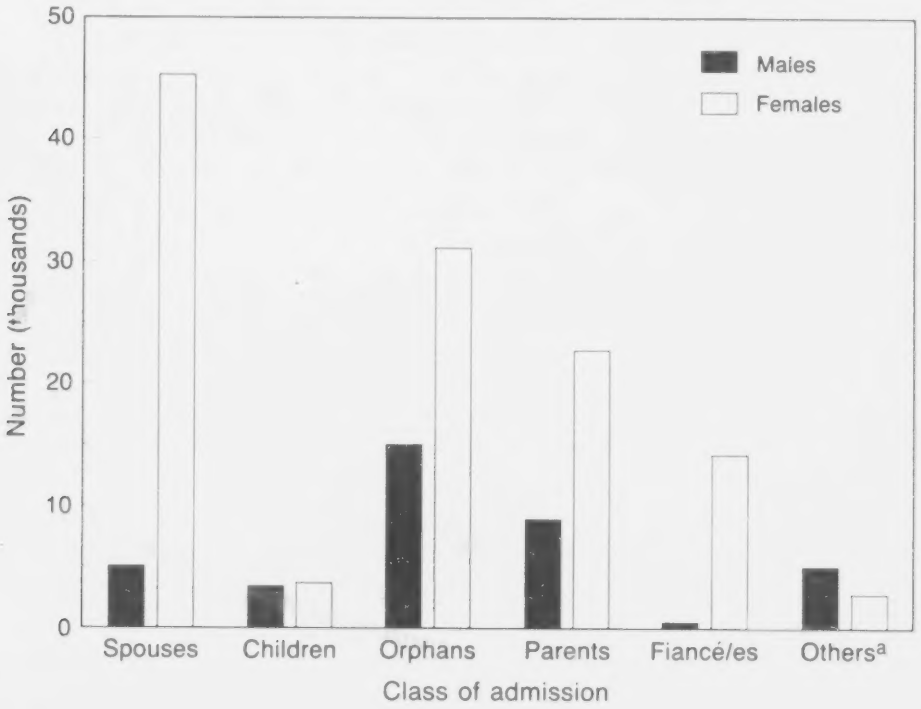

Figure 4. Korean immigrants to the United States, by class of admission and sex, 1972–85

Source: INS public-use tapes, 1972–85.

a. "Others" is a residual category for nonimmediate relatives and nonrelatives of U.S. citizens.

Another factor is cultural. Asian women in general are stereotyped as good housekeepers, homebodies, and sexy (Kitano and Daniels 1988), qualities that render them attractive to American men. The recently growing phenomenon of mail-order brides from Asia and the development of social clubs in the United States that attract members by promising men the opportunity to meet "lovely Oriental females" indicate the popularity of these stereotypes (Kitano and Daniels 1988). In contrast, stereotypes about Asian men cast them in a negative light, adversely affecting their chances to attract American women. Japanese men, for example, are perceived as traditional, domineering, and chauvinistic (Nitta 1988).

Negative perceptions about Asian men seem to be held not only by American women but also by Asian women raised in the United States. Out-marriage trends among Asians in the United States show that more women marry outside their ethnic group (choosing mainly white men) than do men (Kitano 1988; Min 1988b). One reason given by Asian women for preferring to marry non-Asian men is to be free from traditional female roles (Kitano 1988; Min 1988b).

Figures 3 and 4 show that more women than men enter the United States in the immigrant subcategory of parent. In recent years mothers have represented about two-thirds of all immigrant parents—63 percent among Filipinos and 72 percent among Koreans. The longer life expectancy of women, especially at older ages, could be one reason why women are overrepresented in this category. A greater proportion of female than of male Korean children enter the United States as orphans, and the sex imbalance may also be due to cultural factors. Although orphans in international migration generally do not constitute large-scale movements, huge numbers of children continue to leave Korea for international adoption (Kim 1978; Weil 1984), a trend that began as an aftermath of the Korean War (1950–53). Initially, this immigrant group was dominated by war orphans and mixed-race children. More recently, children with living Korean parents have been given up for adoption (Kim 1978). Between 1963 and 1975, couples in the United States adopted 14,684 Korean children, the largest group of immigrant orphans (Weil 1984:283). More female than male orphans leave Korea owing to a preference for girls by adopting parents in the United States (Williamson 1976:111) and probably also to a reluctance of Korean parents to give up sons for adoption because of the strong preference for sons in Korean society (Williamson 1976:95).

The magnitude of sex differentials among immigrant children is almost negligible: females constitute 52 percent among Koreans and 49 percent among Filipinos. The immigration chances of minor children are less likely to be influenced by gender-related factors than are those of other categories of immediate relatives.

Sex differentials are less pronounced among immigrants entering under preference categories within the quota or preference system than they are among the exempt visa categories of immediate relatives just discussed. In fact, patterns of sex differentials within preference categories are more variable and also show some national differences. Among Filipino immigrants, more females than males were admitted to the United States in recent years under the second (spouse and unmarried children of permanent residents), third (professional immigrants and their spouse and children), and sixth (needed workers and their spouse and children) preferences, and as nonpreference immigrants (Figure 5). Among Koreans, more females than males came in as first (unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens), second (spouse and unmarried children of permanent residents), and third (professional immigrants and their spouse and children) preference immigrants (Figure 6).

Female predominance in the third preference deserves comment. The immigration reforms of 1965 opened another route through which women could be admitted to the United States—as occupational immigrants through the third and sixth preferences. The greater proportions of women than of men in the third preference in the Filipino and Korean streams reflects

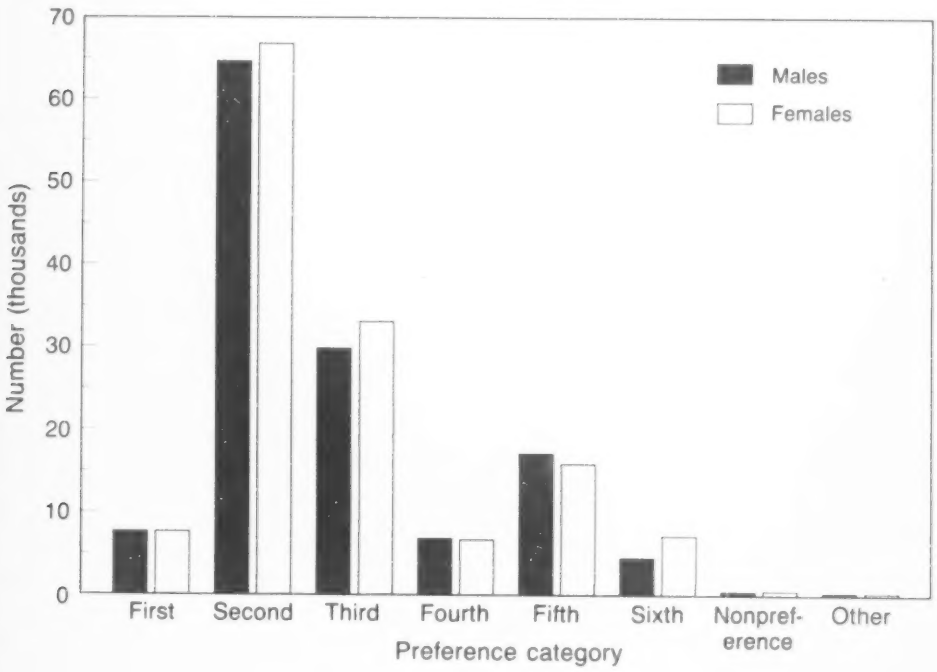

Figure 5. Filipino immigrants, by preference category and sex: 1972–85
Source: INS public-use tapes, 1972–85.

the movement of professionals to the United States, particularly medical professionals. The restructuring of the medical field in the 1960s led to a great demand for medical personnel in the United States (Reimers 1985). Nurses, most of whom are women, were a much sought-after group. In addition to the predominance of professional women, the wives and daughters of professional men also contributed to the overall female predominance in the third preference category.

All of the first six preference subcategories allow for the immigration of family units, and this provision contributes to a more balanced sex distribution of immigrants. For example, if a sister of a U.S. citizen is married, her husband and children also qualify for admission. On the whole, the variable patterns of admission by sex seem to reflect more the admissibility of immigrants (i.e., the extent to which applicants meet the criteria for admission and the availability of visa numbers) than the interaction of sociocultural factors with immigration policies. Traditionally, the female predominance in Filipino and Korean immigration has been regarded as a logical consequence of family immigration. That is, presumably in the early stages of immigration, the men move first; and when migration has matured, the women follow. These patterns do not quite fit the pattern of family immigration to the United States because men and women are

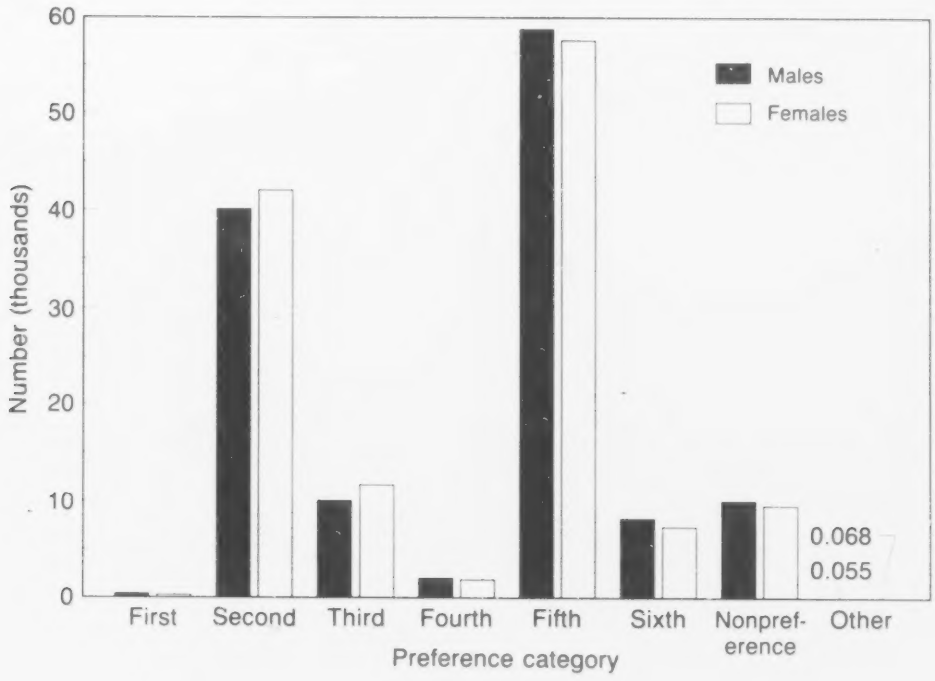

Figure 6. Korean immigrants, by preference category and sex: 1972–85
Source: INS public-use tapes, 1972–85.

equally likely to be admitted as family immigrants. U.S. immigration policies give little room for autonomous immigration (i.e., migration independent of the family, usually for economic reasons). A more convincing explanation for the predominance of females among immigrants from Korea and the Philippines relates to how social, political, and cultural factors have favored female immigration.

Although their being wives or mothers of U.S. citizens or immigrants paves the entry of many adult women to the United States, once in the United States, immigrant women are not necessarily confined to family roles. Large numbers of them enter the labor market. Using data on occupational expectations, I show in this paper that the plan to join the work force can be traced back prior to the actual departure for the destination. These expectations, expressed by women themselves, indicate economic and social possibilities women envision upon their immigration to the United States.

THE DATA

The data I have used to look at the occupational changes expected by women come from the Immigrant Pre-departure Assessment Surveys (IPDA) con-

ducted in the Philippines and the Republic of Korea in 1986. Undertaken jointly by the East-West Population Institute, the University of the Philippines, and Hanyang University, the IPDA was launched as the first of several surveys to study the immigrant experience of Filipinos and Koreans over time. Information was collected through face-to-face interviews on four major topics: immigrant resources and characteristics, expectations and plans for life in the United States, visa procedures and travel plans, and migration processes.

The IPDA was unique in that it gathered information about migrants in the origin, something rarely done in migration research. Usually the premigration profile is constructed after the migrant has settled in the destination. The kind of profile generated by the retrospective method is limited to traditional indicators such as years of education, English ability, and work experience. Migrants, however, are not just a repository of skills and characteristics. They also carry hopes, fears, and expectations of what life will be like in the new country. From the IPDA data it is possible to assemble a more comprehensive preimmigration profile of respondents and to assess their expectations as a baseline for later studies of adjustment.

A systematic sample was drawn from the population of 18–69 year olds who were issued immigrant visas in Manila and Seoul throughout 1986. Although I refer to the respondents as immigrants, they had yet to leave for the United States at the time of interview. They were immigrant visa holders and, as such, were qualified to enter the United States. They had to do so within 90 days or lose the visa. Upon arrival at a port of entry in the United States, they had to pass an additional screening by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to be successfully admitted to the United States. A total of 2,077 Filipinos and 1,834 Koreans were successfully interviewed, representing a response rate of 77 percent and 88 percent, respectively, and 8 percent of the eligible Filipino visa holders and 10 percent of the eligible Korean visa holders (Cariño et al. 1990:5; Park et al. 1990:10).

This paper focuses on currently married women of ages 18–64 (N = 570 for Filipinos and N = 731 for Koreans), who constituted 28 percent of the Filipino sample and 40 percent of the Korean sample. (See Cariño et al. 1990 and Park et al. 1990 for a descriptive analysis of the entire Filipino and Korean samples.) Although married women are the ones who are least expected to be economically active, especially in the context of family migration, they account for the largest increase in female labor force participation at the destination. Many immigrant families need to pool their resources to reach a level of living comparable with that of the native-born population, and wives' incomes contribute substantially toward that goal. This study assesses the factors that potentially facilitate or constrain a woman's decision to enter the work force.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Nearly all the married women in the IPDA sample planned to enter the United States under family visas (first panel of Table 4). The percentage distribution by specific visa category of admission shows the different paths of immigration for the two national groups (second panel of Table 4).

Among admission classes, wives of U.S. citizens were the largest subgroup—49 percent of those in the exempt category among Filipino women, 27 percent among Korean women. Of the Filipino women holding visas as wives of U.S. citizens, 39 percent were married to those of Filipino descent (either Filipinos who had become naturalized citizens or American-born Filipinos—data not shown). In contrast, all the Korean women in the same visa category were married to American men. A different story unfolds when we look at the percentages of women holding visas as wives of permanent residents: 25 percent of Korean women versus fewer than 1 percent of Filipino women. These differences suggest that Filipino men, either American-born or naturalized citizens, have a greater tendency to marry Filipino women than is the case among Korean men and Korean women. It is also possible that Filipinos adopt a different immigration strategy from Koreans. Filipino husbands may choose to wait until they become naturalized citizens (a process that takes three to five years) before they petition the U.S. government to admit their wives as immigrants. Waiting pays off by enhancing the migration prospects of other family members. Naturalized citizens may petition the government on behalf of minor children and parents quickly because, as immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, the minor children and parents are not subject to the quota. In contrast, the data suggest that Korean men are more likely to petition the government to admit their wives as soon as the men establish permanent residence in the United States.

These patterns, likewise discerned in Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) data, will become more meaningful as we examine the richer body of data available from the IPDA survey.

Life-Cycle Characteristics

Currently married Filipino women in the IPDA survey were older, on the average, than Korean women: 41 years versus 34 years (Table 5). Filipino women had also been married longer (17 years) and had borne more children (3.6) than Korean women, whose years of marriage and number of children averaged 10 and 1.6, respectively. A large majority of women from both national groups were married to men from their own ethnic background; mixed marriages were mainly with American men. Eighty-five percent of Filipino women were married to Filipinos, 14 percent to Americans. Among Korean women, 72 percent had Korean husbands and 28 percent

Table 4. Percentage distribution of currently married Filipino and Korean women, by immigrant status and class of admission: IPDA, 1986

Immigrant status or class of admission	Percentage	
	Filipinos	Koreans
Immigrant status[a]		
1. Family immigrant	95.5	98.5
As spouse	64.5	72.9
As child	2.4	1.5
As parent	23.6	10.7
As sibling	4.9	13.4
2. Autonomous immigrant (as worker)	4.5	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0
	(*N* = 572)	(*N* = 731)
Class of admission[b]		
1. Exempt category		
IR-1: Spouse	49.3	27.4
IR-5: Parent	23.6	10.7
Other[c]	1.5	0.3
2. Preference category		
P-21: Spouse of permanent resident	0.4	24.9
P-31: Professional or highly skilled worker	1.6	0.3
P-32: Spouse of P-31	2.4	1.2
P-41: Married son or daughter of U.S. citizen	2.4	1.5
P-42: Spouse of P-41	2.1	1.1
P-51: Sibling of U.S. citizen	4.9	13.4
P-52: Spouse of P-51	9.3	14.5
P-61: Needed worker	1.7	1.2
P-62: Spouse of P-61	0.7	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0
	(*N* = 572)	(*N* = 731)

a. Family immigrants (also referred to as associational or tied immigrants) are those immigrating through family connections. Autonomous immigrants move on their own. For example, a woman who immigrates as the wife of a U.S. citizen (IR-1) and another who accompanies her P-41 husband (the woman is a P-42 immigrant) are both family immigrants. Autonomous immigrants are those carrying P-31 and P-61 visas. However, women immigrating under P-32 and P-62 are family immigrants because their immigration is facilitated through their spouses' admission under P-31 and P-61.

b. Immigrants to the United States enter either through the exempt category, which includes immediate relatives and special immigrants, or through the preference category (20,000 per country of origin).

The preference category gives priority to the relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents and workers needed in the United States. Preference immigrants can be broadly classified into family preference (P-11, P-12, P-21, P-22, P-23, P-41, P-42, P-43, P-51, P-52, and P-53) and occupational preference (P-31, P-32, P-33, P-61, P-62, and P-63). Because the sample considered in this study is limited to currently married women, other classes of immigrants (those that refer to unmarried children below 21 years of age and adult children

Table 5. Selected characteristics of currently married Filipino and Korean immigrant women: IPDA, 1986

Characteristic	Filipinos (N = 579)		Koreans (N = 731)	
	Mean (SD)	%	Mean (SD)	%
Life cycle				
Age	40.7		34.1	
	(11.6)		(13.1)	
Years married	16.6		10.2	
	(14.8)		(12.7)	
No. of children	3.6		1.6	
	(3.2)		(1.8)	
Spouse's ethnicity				
Same as own		84.9		71.8
American		14.2		27.8
Other		0.9		0.4
		100.0		100.0
Spouse's age	45.5		38.0	
	(15.1)		(3.7)	
Spouse's years of education	10.6		13.2	
	(3.9)		(3.7)	
Human capital				
Years of education	10.4		11.2	
	(5.4)		(3.6)	
Urban residence		61.8		90.8
English ability	5.4		2.1	
	(2.4)		(1.6)	
No. of job skills	2.2		0.5	
	(1.0)		(0.7)	
Class[a]	5.4			
	(1.5)			
Upper				4.5
Middle				80.7
Lower				14.9
				100.0

a. Class was measured differently in the Filipino and Korean surveys. (See text.)

(Table 4, continued)

who are unmarried) are not represented in the above table. Such categories are: IR-2, IR-3, IR-4, P-11, P-12, P22, P-23, P-33, P-43, P-53, and P-63.

c. Includes special immigrants such as ministers of religion and their families, and employees of the U.S. government and their families.

were married to Americans. In both samples, the husbands tended to be older (by about five years) and slightly more educated than the wives.

Human Capital Resources

As shown in the lower panel of Table 5, Korean women had a slight edge over Filipino women in years of completed education (11 versus 10 years). Most of these prospective immigrants came from an urban background. At the time of their interviews, nine out of 10 Korean women and six out of 10 Filipino women had been residing in an urban area for the past 12 months. Most of the respondents considered themselves to be middle-class. In general, these characteristics are consistent with findings from other studies pointing to an overall high level of socioeconomic background among Filipino and Korean immigrants (e.g., Min 1987, 1988a; Mangiafico 1988).

Two characteristics that are relevant in the study of occupational adjustment of immigrants are their English proficiency and their possession of skills appropriate to the U.S. labor market. On a 10-point self-rating scale of English language ability, with 10 as the highest value, Filipino women had a mean score of 5.4, compared with 2.1 for Korean women.[6] Filipino women likewise reported having more job skills relevant to work in the United States than Korean women (2.2 versus 0.53). This comparison should be interpreted with caution because the phrasing of the question in the Korean language apparently connoted vocational or technical skills; professional skills and general service skills may have been underreported.

OCCUPATIONAL PROSPECTS AS VIEWED FROM THE ORIGIN

For autonomous migrants, the idea of migration is intimately linked to the idea of improving their lot; and for family migrants, the prospect of immigration to the United States has a similar appeal. Although rejoining their families and other affiliative reasons were cited by a majority of the 1986 cohort of immigrants as represented by the IPDA Survey—62 percent and 55 percent of Filipinos and Koreans, respectively (Cariño et al. 1990:57; Park et al. 1990:70)—the immigrants recognized the economic importance of their move. Using a scale from 1 to 10 to compare place characteristics of the

6. An index was constructed from the following questions: "We would like to know how well you can read, write, and speak English. First, would you say your ability to read English is excellent, good, fair, or poor? And how about your ability to write in English? Would you say it is excellent, good, fair, or poor? And what about your speaking ability in English? Would you say it is excellent, good, fair, or poor?" The original IPDA ratings (1 = excellent, 4 = poor) were reversed so that the sum's ascending order would correspond with higher English proficiency. The index was computed as follows: [(reading ability + writing ability + speaking ability)-2]. Resulting scores ranged from 1 to 10, 10 being the highest.

United States with the Philippines or Korea, the IPDA survey respondents ranked the United States higher in all economic dimensions—wage level, economic opportunities, and standard of living (Cariño et al. 1990:61; Park et al. 1990:74). Moreover, their responses to an open-ended question about what they looked forward to in the United States identified economic advantages they perceived as attainable in the United States, including financial stability, work opportunities, and higher wages.

As migration unfolds, its economic and affiliative attractions may become inseparable as one reinforces the other. The ties that make migration to the United States possible also figure prominently in immigrants' perceptions of potential sources of assistance during their economic adjustment to the receiving society.

Work Patterns before and after Immigration

Labor force participation is an important step toward economic integration at the destination. As Filipinos and Koreans in the IPDA survey looked forward to their work experience in the United States, they anticipated major occupational changes. The present discussion focuses on currently married women, but the same patterns were observed for all women.

Although only 42 percent of Filipino women and 32 percent of Korean women had worked in the 12 months preceding the interview (Table 6), the percentages expecting to work in the United States were 76 for Filipino women and 83 for Korean women. The percentages of Filipino and Korean men who planned to join the U.S. work force were also higher than the percentages who had been working prior to immigration, (Table 7) but the percentage differences were sharper for women.

Table 6. Economic activities of currently married Filipino and Korean women before immigration and their expected activities afterward, by nationality: IPDA, 1986

	Filipinos (%)			Koreans (%)		
Economic activity	Before (N = 557)	After (N = 576)	% change	Before (N = 729)	After (N = 727)	% change
Worked/will work	41.7	76.0	+82.3	31.8	83.1	+161.3
Did not work/will not work	58.3	23.9	−59.0	68.1	16.9	−75.2
Student	3.1	0.7		2.1	1.1	
Housekeeper	52.6	20.5		65.0	9.5	
Retiree	1.3	1.0		0.5	5.9	
Not employed, looking	1.4	0.0		0.0	0.0	
Other	0.0	1.7		0.5	0.4	
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

Table 7. Economic activities of Filipino and Korean men before immigration and their expected activities afterward, by nationality: IPDA, 1986

Economic activity	Filipinos (%)			Koreans (%)		
	Before ($N = 814$)	After ($N = 849$)	% change	Before ($N = 748$)	After ($N = 747$)	% change
Worked/will work	62.5	95.3	+52.5	75.8	92.4	+21.9
Did not work/will not work	37.5	4.8	−87.2	24.2	7.6	−68.6
Student	17.7	1.1		9.6	5.5	
Housekeeper	2.9	1.6		0.0	0.0	
Retiree	6.3	1.4		3.1	1.6	
Army service	0.0	0.0		0.8	0.0	
Not employed, looking	9.7	0.0		1.3	0.0	
Other	0.9	0.7		9.4	0.5	
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

Only 20 percent of Filipino immigrants, male and female, had made arrangements for employment in the United States, whereas among Korean immigrants 27 percent of women and 48 percent of men had done so. About half of Korean men and 63 percent of Korean women had jobs arranged in a family business, compared with only 20 percent among Filipinos. Those who had not arranged for a job expected to receive assistance, predominantly from their families and relatives, in their job search. Women expected to rely the most on their husbands for such assistance (40 percent of Filipinos and 30 percent of Koreans), but few men expected their wives to help them find jobs (10 percent of Filipinos and 3 percent of Koreans).

A great majority of immigrants (92 percent of Filipinos and 74 percent of Koreans) did not foresee having employment problems.[7] The few who did were concerned mainly with the difficulty of finding a job, and some Korean immigrants anticipated language problems at work. Most immigrants, however, were optimistic about finding work. Their optimism was possibly related to the kinds of jobs they expected to find.

As the occupational distributions displayed in Tables 8 (for women) and 9 (for men) indicate, the largest proportions of women and men in both groups expected to land jobs in the service sector. Substantial occupational

7. In general, fewer Filipinos than Koreans expected to encounter problems with housing, the cost of living, school, and language in the United States. The largest difference between the two immigrant groups was in their expectations about language problems; 90 percent of Koreans expected to have some problems with English, compared with only 17 percent of Filipinos. Perhaps the Korean respondents' anxiety about language difficulty affected their perceptions of other problems of adjustment.

Table 8. Occupations of currently married Filipino and Korean women before immigration and their expected occupations afterward, by nationality: IPDA, 1986

Type of occupation	Filipinos (%)			Koreans (%)		
	Before (N = 205)	After (N = 203)	% change	Before (N = 205)	After (N = 205)	% change
Professional	40.0	21.7	-45.8	18.5	5.9	-68.1
Managerial	5.9	3.0	-49.2	13.2	3.4	-74.2
Clerical	18.0	23.6	+31.1	23.4	20.0	-14.5
Sales	15.6	6.9	-55.8	17.6	14.6	-17.0
Farming, fishing, forestry	3.4	2.5	-26.5	4.9	0.5	-89.8
Transportation	1.0	0.5	-50.0	1.0	0.0	-100.0
Production	9.8	12.8	+30.6	10.2	17.1	+67.6
Services	6.3	29.1	+361.9	11.2	38.5	+243.8
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

Note: Percentages are based on responses of those who had worked in the 12 months before the interview and who expected to work after immigration.

Table 9. Occupations of Filipino and Korean men before immigration and their expected occupations afterward, by nationality: IPDA, 1986

Type of occupation	Filipinos (%)			Koreans (%)		
	Before (N = 497)	After (N = 494)	% change	Before (N = 557)	After (N = 556)	% change
Professional	21.1	14.6	-30.8	12.0	5.6	-53.3
Managerial	9.3	2.2	-76.3	23.5	8.1	-65.5
Clerical	7.4	14.6	+97.3	16.3	4.9	-69.9
Sales	14.5	3.0	-79.3	12.7	21.6	+70.1
Farming, fishing, forestry	17.3	9.9	-42.8	4.3	1.3	-69.8
Mining	0.0	0.2	a	0.2	0.0	-100.0
Transportation	9.1	7.7	-15.4	6.3	1.1	-82.5
Production	15.3	21.3	+39.2	18.7	29.7	+58.8
Services	6.0	26.5	+341.7	5.9	27.9	+372.9
	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	

Note: Percentages are based on responses of those who had worked in the 12 months before the interview and who expected to work after immigration.

a. Undefined.

dislocation is evident from a comparison of premigration occupations and postmigration expectations. Service occupations recorded the largest expected increase, more than tripling for Filipinos and Korean men and more than doubling for Korean women. Although service jobs are neither lucrative nor prestigious, they are readily available, and demand for service workers in the United States is increasing. Between 1988 and the year 2000, the biggest increase in jobs will be in the service-producing industries, in which guards, restaurant cooks, waiters and waitresses, and nursing aides are among the 10 most in-demand occupations (U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1987 as cited in Riche 1988:38). The trend implies that immigrants stand a good chance of obtaining a job in this sector.

The anticipated decline in the proportions employed in professional and managerial occupations reflects some professional and managerial workers' expectation of entering the more accessible service occupations. The clerical field, which registered an expected increase after immigration, was another possible niche for Filipino immigrants who were former professionals, managers, or administrators. For Korean immigrant men, sales occupations seemed to be an alternative to those who were in the professions or managerial occupations. There was no increase in the proportion of Korean women expecting to work in sales occupations, possibly because their self-employment intentions were tied in with their husbands'. The proportion expecting to be agricultural workers was lower than the preimmigration level; this group of immigrants was likely to be absorbed in either the production sector or the service sector. The availability of service jobs meant that immigrants did not need to wait a long time to start working in the United States.

In general, a larger proportion of the Korean than of the Filipino immigrants had definite ideas about when they could begin to work (92 and 97 percent, respectively, of the Korean women and men, compared with 49 and 76 percent of Filipino women and men). Part of this discrepancy was due to the larger proportion of Koreans who had already arranged for a job in the United States. Within the first four months of their arrival, at least 70 percent of the women and 87 percent of the men expected to be in the work force (Table 10).

How long they would remain in their first job was more open to question for Filipinos than for Koreans. Among all subgroups, approximately one-third expected to hold on to their first job for one year or less (Table 11). For some 50 percent of immigrants, their expectations suggested that the first job might be the only one they would ever hold. A significant proportion of those who expected to be at their first job for more than two years stated that they would remain there "for good" or "until retirement" (data not shown).

Table 10. How soon Filipino and Korean immigrants expected to start working in the United States, by sex and nationality: IPDA, 1986

	Women (%)		Men (%)	
Months after arrival	Filipinos ($N = 213$)	Koreans ($N = 555$)	Filipinos ($N = 613$)	Koreans ($N = 670$)
Immediately	33.9	32.8	32.0	55.7
1–4	47.0	36.8	55.0	33.7
5–8	9.1	13.0	7.8	6.3
9–12	6.3	8.8	3.1	2.5
≥13	3.1	7.9	1.6	1.5
Other response	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 11. How long Filipino and Korean immigrants expected to remain at first job, by sex and nationality: IPDA, 1986

	Women (%)		Men (%)	
Number of months	Filipinos ($N = 119$)	Koreans ($N = 332$)	Filipinos ($N = 278$)	Koreans ($N = 464$)
1–4	3.4	4.5	8.6	3.7
5–8	8.4	12.3	7.9	13.8
9–12	18.5	19.9	16.5	20.3
13–24	12.6	13.5	14.8	18.1
≥25	57.1	49.6	52.2	44.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Family Ties and Support

Most immigrants did not expect to go through the adjustment process alone. As numerous studies have demonstrated, migrants receive a great deal of help from family and friends in their transition to the receiving society (see, e.g., Ginsberg 1979; Tilly and Brown 1974; MacDonald and MacDonald 1974; Smith 1980; Caces 1985; Mullan 1989).

Now that U.S.-bound immigration from the Philippines and the Republic of Korea is a well-trodden path, the social networks that have developed between the sending and receiving countries have considerably lessened the risks and uncertainties of migration. At the origin, almost all Filipinos and 77 percent of Koreans indicated that their families supported their decision to emigrate. At the destination, relatives could be counted on for sup-

port during the adjustment period. Relatives in the United States were ranked by 76 percent of Filipinos and 52 percent of Koreans as the most important source of assistance. Friends were mentioned next most frequently as the most important source of support for Filipinos, but at 2 percent they were a distant second to relatives. Among Koreans, 22 percent considered the church as the most important source of support, placing it second to relatives in importance.

The promise of support and assistance from relatives exerts a substantial influence on the residential intentions of immigrants. The tendency to settle close to other relatives (reported by Winchie and Carment 1989; Kritz 1987; Tilly and Brown 1974; MacDonald and MacDonald 1974:86; Ritchey 1976:375) was evident among prospective Filipino and Korean immigrants. Of those who knew where they would live in the United States, nine out of 10 Filipino women and eight out of 10 Korean women based their residential choice on the presence of relatives in the area. Nearly half (48 percent) of Filipino women were headed to only one state—California. In contrast, a similar proportion of Korean women planned to head to five major receiving states: California (27 percent), New York (8 percent), and Texas, Maryland, and Illinois (5 percent each). Given the large Filipino or Korean populations in those destination areas, immigrants could also be expected to develop broader networks beyond the family as they adapted to their new surroundings.

FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S EXPECTATION OF WORKING

In the past, the main explanations for occupational adjustment of immigrants have been derived from human capital theory. Recently, however, conceptual developments and new evidence on the diversity of the immigrant experience have underscored the limitations of a single view of immigrant adjustment (Portes 1987a).

I propose three conceptual frameworks as relevant to an examination of women's expectations of working in the destination: human capital theory, the life cycle, and social resources in the destination.

Human Capital

According to human capital theory, socioeconomic rewards derive from individuals' motivation to invest in themselves (Schultz 1962:1; Becker 1962:9). Investments in human capital are those that improve the physical and mental abilities of people, such as "schooling, on-the-job training, medical care, vitamin consumption, and acquiring information about the economic system" (Becker 1962:9). In its original formulation, the theory has been used to examine how these investments affect actual earnings or occupational prestige. Here, I apply human capital theory to expectations to work.

As it relates to immigrants, human capital theory argues that initially immigrants may be disadvantaged because of cultural differences (e.g., language) between their native society and that of the destination, their status as new entrants into the labor market at the destination, and the nontransferability of their skills in the destination (Kats 1982:668). However, as cultural and skill differences between immigrants and the native-born diminish (that is, with increasing length of residence in the destination), the socioeconomic attainment of both groups tends to converge (Chiswick 1984:21).

Human capital theory has several major limitations. It overlooks some of the realities of the labor market, for example that the labor market is not a rational and impartial arena; it ignores the fact that men and women do not have equal access to educational and training opportunities; and it does not deal adequately with the special situation of immigrant women, who earn less than men and also less than native-born women. For these reasons alternative explanations of occupational mobility have developed in recent years, such as the split-labor market theory (Bonacich 1972), the dual market theory (Piore 1979), and the ethnic economy (Portes 1987b). It is possible, however, that the human capital theory may be more applicable than these other theories to expectations. Immigrants may be more likely to consider their own qualifications than the structural constraints or opportunities in the destination when assessing their economic chances in the United States.

Stage of the Life Cycle

Women's labor force participation cannot be examined apart from their stage in the life cycle. Because women are still considered to be the family's care giver, their family role impinges upon their work role. The high level of women's employment before the onset of childbearing, the plateau during the childbearing and childrearing years, and another rise in the older ages reflect the adjustments women make in their work role to accommodate their family role (Mincer and Polachek 1974:404). The greater proportion of women than of men in part-time employment is also an indicator of how women reconcile their dual roles. As Nath (1981:14) sums it up: "women in their different life phases have different amounts of spare time as well as different degrees of freedom and accessibility."

Social Resources at the Destination

Social resources include the range of personal, family, and ethnic networks that an immigrant can count on for assistance at the destination. A geographic area where a considerable proportion of an immigrant's ethnic group lives can also be considered a social resource because it provides a context in which ethnic ties can develop easily.

Recently, in attempts to reconcile macro- and microlevel approaches to migration, social networks have emerged as a logical meeting ground for understanding migration as a social process (Boyd, n.d.). In various studies and frameworks, social networks have been identified as the factor that sustains migration and as a catalyst that transforms the nature of migration over time (Massey et al. 1987; Portes and Bach 1985; Boyd n.d.; Fawcett and Arnold 1987).

Occupational adjustment can be facilitated directly or indirectly by social resources in the destination. Where opportunities are closed to an immigrant or ethnic group, a social network can provide alternatives. Ethnic networks can give rise to an ethnic economy to promote the well-being of its members (Cobas 1987; Magdalena 1982; Portes 1987b). One of the positive outcomes of the ethnic economy is the creation of opportunities for female employment (Portes 1987b). Women, especially new immigrants who may otherwise be disadvantaged in the labor market because of their limited knowledge of the local language and culture, can be accommodated in the ethnic economy (Portes 1987b; Yamanako 1986; Phizacklea 1983; Lee 1988; Ong 1985). In the absence of an ethnic economy, social networks can provide assistance indirectly through information sharing about jobs. The concentration of members of ethnic groups in certain occupations reflects job recruitment through ethnic networks, which is done commonly by word of mouth (Glenn 1986; Caces 1985:182).

Selected indicators were used to represent each of the theoretical approaches to women's potential labor force participation.

Human capital was measured by education, English ability, work experience prior to immigration, number of job skills, and class membership in the country of origin.

A woman's stage in the life cycle was determined from her age, the presence of young children in the U. S. household, husband's ethnicity, and husband's location. The last two variables were included as life-cycle variables inasmuch as the family or household context of a married woman could determine the acceptability of women's work, the amount of time a woman could spend in the labor market, and the economic need for other wage earners. The husband's ethnicity (which can reflect cultural norms regarding women's work) is one characteristic that can facilitate or constrain a married woman's labor market activities. It is also important to consider the husband's location since we are dealing with immigrant families whose membership spans several areas. Some immigrant women we surveyed were preceded to the United States by their husbands, whereas others were planning to immigrate without their husbands. These two groups of women would have different economic resources upon their arrival in the United States, and consequently the economic need to work would be much greater for those starting life in the United States without their husbands.

Indicators of social resources in the destination include family network in the United States, intention to reside in a metropolitan area with a sizable Filipino or Korean population, and having relatives who own or manage a business in the United States.

The three theoretical approaches just discussed emphasize individual characteristics and endowments in explaining the occupational adjustment of immigrants. They do not take into account structural or historical factors (e.g., employer discrimination or economic recession) which define the parameters of occupational mobility of various immigrant groups. The reality of structural factors comes to light when individuals or groups with similar characteristics or endowments attain differential occupational mobility. For the purpose of understanding immigrants' perceptions of their occupational prospects in the intended country of residence, however, it is logical to begin with individual characteristics and resources. And although structural factors cannot be ignored in actual occupational mobility, in the realm of immigrant expectations of things to come, they are perhaps less immediate than individuals' assessments of their own abilities.

Preliminary Findings

Results from the bivariate analysis of expectations of working and selected characteristics of the study sample generally support the hypothesized relationships. As summarized in Table 12, immigrant women with human-capital qualifications were more likely than others to expect to work in the United States. Those with more years of education, work experience prior to immigration, greater English proficiency, skills to sell in the American labor market, and urban residence had higher levels of work expectation than other women.

An interesting divergence between the two groups was in their work expectation by class background. Upper-class Korean women had the lowest expectation of working, upper-class Filipino women the highest. According to Cho (1987), the patriarchal values of Korean society affect upper-class women to a greater extent than others, discouraging them from entering the Korean labor force. In contrast, the class position of upper-class Filipino women appears to give them more role choices, including the opportunity to work if they wish to. Among the Filipino women surveyed, there was a larger difference in the expected labor force participation between lower-class and upper-class women than between middle-class women and the other groups.

As an indicator of life-cycle effects, the data on age imply that the work patterns of immigrant women may differ from those of native-born women. Being in the childbearing and childrearing age groups did not seem to lower immigrant women's expectations of working. Instead, percentages expecting to participate in the labor force increased with age, reaching a

Table 12. Percentages of currently married Filipino and Korean immigrant women expecting to work, by selected characteristics: IPDA, 1986

Characteristic	Expecting to work (%)	
	Filipinos ($N = 579$)	Koreans ($N = 729$)
Education		
Low	56.3	68.0
Medium	69.4	85.4
High	93.8	89.5
Work experience prior to immigration		
No	66.7	73.7
Yes	81.1	87.4
English proficiency		
Low	49.4	82.1
Medium	78.0	87.7
High	91.4	a
Number of skills for a job in the United States		
0	b	76.6[c]
1-2	72.0	91.7[c]
3 and more	85.9	91.7[c]
Class membership in the country of origin		
Lower	80.4	82.2
Middle	74.1	83.9
Upper	88.4	75.0
Urban/rural residence in country of origin		
Rural	70.6	80.9
Urban	79.3	85.3
Age		
≤24	76.9	85.0
25-34	89.4	88.4
35-44	91.1	92.7
45-54	77.0	76.5
55-64	40.5	42.9
No. of children <7 years old in the United States		
None	73.0	82.1
At least 1	85.7	87.3
Spouse's ethnicity		
Same as own	78.5	85.6
American	62.5	77.2
Presence of immediate family in the United States		
None	93.0	93.4
At least one	73.9	86.4

Table 12. *(continued)*

Characteristic	Expecting to work (%)	
	Filipinos ($N = 579$)	Koreans ($N = 729$)
Intending to reside in a metropolitan area		
No	72.6	88.0
Yes	78.6	91.3
Family owns or manages business in the United States?		
No	73.7	26.0
Yes	91.6	64.6

a. Only seven Korean respondents reported having high English proficiency; they were therefore combined with those in the medium-proficiency category.

b. Percentage omitted because there were only four cases.

c. Data for Koreans were not strictly comparable with those for Filipinos because of a bias favoring technical and vocational skills in the questionnaire for the Korean survey.

high in the ages 35–44. Nor was the typical rise in female employment following the end of childbearing or childcare years reflected in the plans of the older immigrant women.

The presence of preschool children (under age 7) was associated with an increase rather than a decrease in work expectations. This finding suggests the availability of other family members who could be counted on to help with childcare, thereby enabling mothers to work outside the home (Caces 1985:136–137). Interestingly, husbands' ethnicity was also related to women's work expectations, higher expectations characterizing those married to Filipinos or Koreans as compared with those married to Americans. Among immigrant couples, the family with two wage earners appears to be more the norm than the exception.

As to social resources, intended residence in a metropolitan area populated by many Filipinos or Koreans and having relatives who owned businesses in the United States were associated with higher work expectations. Surprisingly, however, immigrant women with no relatives in the United States were more likely to expect to work than those with relatives. The latter may have been in a better position to look for alternative opportunities and for that reason had a lower expectation of working, whereas those without the luxury of family support were more pressed to find work immediately.

Results of Multivariate Analysis

To clarify the simultaneous effects of selected indicators thought to be related to work expectation I conducted a logit regression analysis. Table 13 identi-

Table 13. Dependent and independent variables used in the logit analysis

Variable	Definition or measurement
Dependent: Labor force participation	Derived from the question: "Do you expect to work in the United States?" Yes was coded 1; no, 0.
Independent	
Education	Years of completed education. Measured as an interval variable.
English ability	An index derived from respondents' self-ratings on their ability to read, write, and speak English. Scores ranged from 1 to 10, 10 being the highest score.
Work experience	Refers to work experience prior to immigration. Those who had ever worked were coded 1; those who had not, 0.
Number of job skills	Based on responses to the question: "What skills do you have that might be helpful in obtaining a job in the United States?" Measured as an interval variable. In the Korean survey, this question referred mainly to blue-collar or vocational skills and was more restricted than the one used in the Filipino survey.
Class membership, Philippines	Self-ranking of social-class membership in Philippines. Filipino respondents ranked themselves on a 10-point scale, 10 being the highest value.
Class membership, Korea	Self-ranking of social-class membership in the Republic of Korea. Korean respondents ranked themselves as belonging to upper, middle, or lower class. Responses were transformed into dummy variables in the multivariate analysis.
Age	Age in years.
Presence of preschool children	Presence of children under 7 years of age who were in the United States or would accompany mothers immigrating to the United States. Respondents with at least one preschool child were coded 1; those without, 0.
Spouse's ethnicity	For Filipino respondents, this was coded 1 if spouse was Filipino, 0 if American. For Korean respondents, it was coded 1 if spouse was Korean, 0 if American.
Spouse's location	Husband's current residence. This was coded 1 if husband was already in the United States, 0 otherwise.

Table 13. *(continued)*

Variable	Definition or measurement
Dependent: Labor force participation	Derived from the question: "Do you expect to work in the United States?" Yes was coded 1; no, 0.
Immediate family	Having immediate relatives (parents, siblings, and children) living in the United States. Those who had at least one relative were coded 1; others were coded 0.
Metropolitan residence	Refers to whether respondents intended to live in a metropolitan area with a Filipino or Korean population of at least 10,000 (as determined from census reports). Respondents were coded 1 if they intended to live in such an area, 0 otherwise.
Family-owned/ managed business	Based on the question: "Does your family own or manage a business in the U.S.?" Coded 1 if yes, 0 otherwise.

fies the indicators and describes how they were measured. Logit regression is an appropriate choice for further analysis, given the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable—that is, whether an immigrant woman was expecting to work in the United States or not (Aldrich and Nelson 1984).

In the tables that follow, logit regression coefficients are transformed into adjusted probabilities to allow for a clearer presentation and interpretation of results (Retherford n.d.; Swafford 1980). The adjusted probability of expecting to work is the net effect of each determinant or independent variable, the values of other determinants controlled at their means. Only those determinants found to be significant at the .05 level or higher are included in the tables.

Table 14 summarizes the significant predictors of work expectation among Filipino and Korean immigrant women. Human capital and life-cycle indicators were generally important to both groups, but destination-specific social resources (having immediate relatives living in the United States) were significant only for Filipino women.

Work experience turned out to be significant in the work expectations of Korean women but not of Filipino women. The magnitude of difference in the percentages expecting to work between those with experience and those without was rather small: 97 percent versus 93 percent.

It is not enough for immigrants to bring skills with them; to ensure a smooth transition, their skills must be transferable to the destination. Among Filipino women in the IPDA Survey, the greater number of appropriate skills they had, the more likely they were to be expecting to work (Table 14). The difference in the percentages expecting to work between those

Table 14. Adjusted probabilities of expecting to work in the United States: currently married Filipino and Korean immigrant women, IPDA, 1986

Independent variable	Filipinos ($N = 473$)	Koreans ($N = 680$)
HUMAN CAPITAL:		
Work experience in the country of origin		
Yes	ns	.9690**
No	ns	.9322**
Number of job skills		
0	.7881**	a
1	.8786**	a
2	.8887**	a
LIFE CYCLE:		
Age		
30	.9669**	.9886**
40	.9072**	.9187**
50	.7657**	.7490**
Presence of preschool children		
Yes	ns	.9167*
No	ns	.9674*
Spouse's ethnicity		
Same as own	.9289**	.9811**
American	.2848**	.7381**
SOCIAL RESOURCES IN THE DESTINATION:		
(immediate family in the U.S.)		
Yes	.8768*	ns
No	.9785*	ns

ns—not significant

**$p < .01$; *$p < .05$.

a. This variable was not included in the equation because of bias in the way the question was asked.

with no skills and those with at least one skill (79 percent versus 88 percent) is quite striking.

In many studies of immigrants' economic adjustment, levels of education differentiate varying propensities to find employment. In the IPDA Survey data, however, education proved not to be a significant predictor of work expectation. As the question respondents were asked related to expectation of working, without regard for the kind of work, it is possible for education not to have made any difference. For new immigrants, finding employment seems to be a more pressing concern than finding the right

kind of job. As Adler (1977:445) has observed, "Until the immigrant feels somewhat socially secure, he may not evidence a concern for challenging or interesting work."

Class background, which was associated with Korean women's employment in the origin, also was not a significant predictor of work expectation. In thinking about their role in the United States, immigrant women seem to be more concerned about economic necessity or the possibility of expanding their role, than maintaining class distinctions.

With few exceptions, life-cycle indicators influenced work expectations as hypothesized. For both groups, age was negatively related to work expectation. At age 30, nearly every women expected to work—97 and 99 percent among Filipinos and Koreans respectively. At age 50, the proportion expecting to work was considerably lower but still high (about 75 percent among both groups).

Only the work expectation of Korean women was negatively associated with the presence of preschool children. Women with at least one preschool child were less likely to expect to work than women with older children (92 versus 97 percent).

Of all the life-cycle indicators (and of all the determinants), husband's ethnicity appears to have had the most effect in differentiating the work expectations of immigrant women married to Filipinos or Koreans from those of women married to Americans. About 93 percent of Filipino women married to Filipino men expected to work, compared with only 29 percent of those married to American men. Similarly (but less dramatically), 98 percent of Korean women married to Korean men expected to work, in contrast with 74 percent of Korean women with American husbands. These results reveal a strong norm supporting dual wage-earner families among immigrant couples.

Why would marriage to an American reduce the probability of expecting to work among immigrant women and why should there be such a marked difference in work expectations between Filipino and Korean women? To answer these questions, I examined information on the occupation of husbands, using husband's occupation as an indicator of family income. I found a marked contrast between the occupations of Filipino women's American husbands and those of the Korean women's American husbands. Only 39 percent of the Filipino women were married to Americans connected with the U.S. Armed Services, whereas almost all of the Korean women were married to American military personnel. Grossman (1981) reports a rising trend in the labor force participation of wives of men in the Armed Services due to the low wages received by military men. Korean women married to American men may for that reason have a greater need than their Filipino counterparts to enhance their family income. The occupational advantage of American husbands of Filipino women implies lesser pressure on Filipino wives to work.

Destination-specific social resources affected the work expectations of Filipino women but not Korean women. This finding suggests, contrary to my hypothesis, that having an immediate family in the United States lowers women's work expectation whereas not having an immediate family increases the probability of expecting to work (88 percent versus 98 percent). Immigrant women without a family network in the United States may be more pressed to find work immediately, whereas those who can rely on family assistance may feel less concerned about working. Nearly all male immigrants, however, (95 and 92 percent of Filipino and Korean men, respectively) expected to work, so that the differences between those who expected to work and those who did not were negligible.

FACTORS INFLUENCING OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES

As newcomers in the receiving society, immigrants are expected to experience downward occupational mobility, at least initially, relative to the occupations they held before immigrating (Kats 1982:669; Chiswick 1984:21). Success or failure is usually measured by the correspondence between the immigrant's prior occupation in the place of origin and current occupation in the destination. Oddly missing from most analyses is a consideration of how immigrants themselves regard the occupation they are likely to have in the destination. I think it is important to consider this so that immigrants' actual attainment in the destination can be seen from their point of view.

Both Filipino and Korean women expected to make major occupational shifts after immigrating to the United States. The occupational categories shown in Table 15 are derived from responses to several questions. One asked IPDA respondents about their business intentions: "Do you or your spouse expect to start a business in the U.S. someday?" Those who replied affirmatively (i.e., indicating that they expected to run a business either by themselves or as joint owners with their husbands) were considered as intending to become self-employed. For those not intending to become self-employed, two questions elicited information on paid employment: "Do you expect to work in the United States?" and for those who replied yes, "What is this job?" Those who were not sure whether they expected to work were asked a follow-up question: whether they thought they would work in the United States and, if so, in what job. The responses pooled from these questions were classified into five broad occupational categories: (1) self-employment; (2) white-collar occupations, including professional and technical workers, administrators and managers, clerical and support workers, and sales workers; (3) blue-collar and service occupations, including farming, transport and communication, production work, and services; (4) "any work," an unspecified category applied to respondents who expected to work but did not know what type of job they would find; and (5) no employment, applied to those who stated that they did not expect to work in the United States.

Table 15. Types of occupation before immigration and expected changes afterward: currently married Filipino and Korean women, IPDA, 1986

Occupation	Filipinos (%) ($N = 467$)		Koreans (%) ($N = 638$)	
	Before	After	Before	After
Self-employed	11.2	4.7	7.9	29.7
White-collar	25.0	28.3	16.1	25.5
Blue-collar	3.8	37.5	7.7	26.5
Any job	na	6.4	na	7.1
None	59.9	23.1	68.3	11.1

na—not applicable.

To measure occupational changes at the individual level, I compared each women's preimmigration occupational status with her expected occupational status in the United States. The expected occupational shifts, as shown in Table 15, indicate that even before immigration, more Filipino than Korean women were self-employed (11 versus 8 percent) but that the percentage of Korean women expecting to become self-employed in the United States was about six times larger (30 percent versus 5 percent). Much of the expected increase in self-employment among Korean women was related to the business intentions of their husbands; only a few intended to start a business on their own.

Women play an important role in immigrant businesses. Initially they contribute to capital accumulation, working as hard as their husbands to save capital needed to launch a business (e.g., Kim and Hurh 1985). Once the business gets started, women work the same number of hours as their husbands, in some cases as unpaid family workers (Kim and Hurh 1985). The wife's contribution to a family business keeps labor costs to a minimum, in turn allowing the business to be competitive (Nee and Wong 1985). Thus, the causal relationship implied by Portes (1987b), that ethnic businesses promote female employment, is not one-way; it can also be argued that women make possible the development and viability of ethnic businesses.

As Table 15 indicates, only slightly more Filipino women expected to find white-collar employment than had white-collar jobs in the Philippines (28 versus 25 percent), whereas the percentage of Korean women expecting to work in white-collar occupations was substantially higher than that of those holding such jobs before immigration (26 versus 16 percent). Because white-collar occupations were broadly defined, they masked differences in occupations of varying occupational prestige. Detailed occupational distributions of the IPDA samples reveal that many Korean women recorded

as expecting to have white-collar occupations actually expected to work in sales occupations (as cashiers, as sales clerks, and so forth).

For both national groups, blue-collar occupations registered the biggest expected gain relative to the preimmigration period. Only 4 percent of Filipino women worked in blue-collar occupations before immigration, but 38 percent expected to move into those occupations after arrival in the United States. A corresponding increase from 8 to 26 percent was reported by Korean women. Historically, the blue-collar sector has been the major absorber of immigrant labor because of its easier skill requirements and the less rigorous licensing requirements than those that apply to some white-collar occupations and professions. Reliance on ethnic networks by job seekers and employers alike may have contributed to the expected concentration of the two immigrant groups in certain occupations (Braddock and McPartland 1987). For job seekers, there is some reassurance in entering an occupation in which one's group has gained a foothold (see, e.g., Glenn 1986). On the part of employers, hiring through the ethnic network means having workers whose characteristics are already known (Waldinger 1984).

To analyze the prediction of the occupational distribution of immigrants, I used multinomial regression analysis. An extension of binary logit regression, multinomial logit allows for the analysis of a dependent variable with more than two categories (Retherford and Choe, n.d.; Long 1987). In this case the dependent variable, which is choice of occupation (self-employed, white-collar, blue-collar, intending to work but occupation unspecified, not intending to work), was predicted from eight independent variables—education, English ability, age, spouse's ethnicity, having immediate relatives in the United States, metropolitan residence, family-owned/managed business, and expecting to experience discrimination in the United States.

As in the binary logit analysis, the coefficients are presented as adjusted probabilities. Instead of working through numerous coefficients, the table of probabilities gives the probability of being in one category (among several) with respect to a change in the level of an independent variable. At each level of the independent variable, the sum of the probabilities of all categories of occupations should equal 1 (if the total hovers between 0.99 and 1.01, it does so because of rounding). The effect of an independent variable can be gauged from the various probabilities of a woman's expecting to be in an occupational category at each value of the independent variable.

Of the five occupational choices, expecting white-collar and blue-collar employment (and to a lesser extent, no employment) are the ones that showed pronounced variations for Filipino women (Table 16) and are therefore highlighted in the discussion. The significant predictors were education, language, age, preimmigration occupation, husband's ethnicity, and having a relative who owns or manages a business in the United States.

Education yielded appreciable effects in predicting white-collar and

Table 16. Predicted probabilities of expecting a given type of occupation: currently married Filipino immigrant women, IPDA, 1986

Covariate	Self-employed	Employed, white-collar	Employed, blue-collar	Employed, any job	None
Education (in years)					
6	0.0145	0.0564	0.6983	0.0380	0.1927
10	0.0371	0.1751	0.5612	0.0681	0.1585
15	0.0786	0.4699	0.2784	0.0921	0.0809
Language					
1	0.0280	0.0887	0.5825	0.1083	0.1926
5	0.0378	0.1755	0.5562	0.0717	0.1588
10	0.0476	0.3551	0.4528	0.0369	0.1076
Age					
25	0.0168	0.2920	0.5345	0.1255	0.0311
30	0.0223	0.2609	0.5564	0.1080	0.0524
40	0.0363	0.1930	0.5585	0.0741	0.1381
50	0.0503	0.1213	0.4764	0.0432	0.3088
Preimmigration occupation					
Self-employed	0.0849	0.2160	0.5925	0.0356	0.0710
Employed, white-collar	0.0599	0.2034	0.5834	0.0493	0.1040
Employed, blue-collar	0.0410	0.1862	0.5583	0.0665	0.1481
Not employed	0.0272	0.1649	0.5171	0.0866	0.2041
Husband's ethnicity					
Filipino	0.0395	0.2041	0.5688	0.0735	0.1141
American	0.0155	0.0413	0.2203	0.0229	0.7000
Have relatives who own or manage a business in the U.S.?					
Yes	0.0381	0.3166	0.5439	0.0364	0.0650
No	0.0380	0.1668	0.5458	0.0751	0.1743

blue-collar employment. Predictably, with increasing years of education, the proportion expecting white-collar occupations likewise increased—only 6 percent of those with six years of education versus 47 percent of those with 15 years of education expected to be white-collar workers. The pattern of relationship for predicting blue-collar employment was just the opposite: the greater the education, the lower the proportion expecting to be blue-collar workers.

Language likewise showed marked differences in predicting white- and blue-collar occupations. As with education, greater English ability was positively associated with white-collar employment but was negatively associated with blue-collar employment.

Except for those expecting to be self-employed, age affected all the other working alternatives in the same way. In general, what we see is that at the younger ages, more women were expecting to work regardless of the type of employment. Among those expecting to find blue-collar employment, however, the decline in work expectations with increasing age was less steep.

Although occupation prior to immigration turned out to be a significant predictor among Filipino women, the results suggest much discontinuity between women's previous occupation and what they expected to find in the United States. For example, only one-fifth of women with white-collar occupations expected to be in the same line of work in the United States. Employment in the blue-collar sector was the popular choice of a majority of immigrant women; women coming from a variety of occupational experiences, including those without work experience, counted on obtaining blue-collar jobs.

The husband's ethnicity, which showed the most effect in predicting work expectation, also turned out to be a significant predictor of occupational choice. Women married to Filipinos were more likely to be found at all working occupational choices than those married to Americans. In other words, the husband's ethnicity did not differentiate occupational choice other than to predict who would and who would not work.

The effect of having a relative who owned or managed a business in the United States is best seen in the prediction of white-collar employment and expectation of not working. Those who had relatives with a business had a greater likelihood of expecting to be white-collar workers than those without. The relationship between family connections and not working also strongly suggested that not having a relative with a business greatly increased the probability of not expecting to work.

Among Korean women, their probable areas of employment (as indicated by the relatively large proportions) included self-employment, white-collar, and blue-collar occupations (Table 17).

The probability of Korean women expecting to be self-employed was generally associated with lower levels of education. As Table 17 indicates, those with 10 or fewer years of education were more likely than those with 15 years of education to expect to be self-employed. Of all the occupational alternatives, education appeared to have the greatest effect in predicting white-collar occupations. Not only did increasing years of education progressively predict white-collar employment, but also the size of the effect was substantial. Among Korean women with six years of education, only 7 percent expected to work in a white-collar occupation, whereas among those with 15 years of education the percentage was 37. Conversely, increasing education led to lower probabilities of expecting to work in a blue-collar occupation or any (unspecified) occupation and not working.

Age had varying effects on the occupational choices. At the youngest

Table 17. Predicted probabilities of expecting a given type of occupation: currently married Korean immigrant women, IPDA, 1986

Covariate	Self-employed	Employed, white-collar	Employed, blue-collar	Employed, any job	None
Education (in years)					
6	0.3523	0.0664	0.4267	0.0883	0.0661
10	0.3619	0.1555	0.3506	0.0772	0.0549
15	0.3099	0.3729	0.2270	0.0541	0.0360
Age					
25	0.2839	0.3248	0.3160	0.0608	0.0145
30	0.3272	0.2482	0.3271	0.0683	0.0292
40	0.3829	0.1277	0.3090	0.0761	0.1042
50	0.3549	0.0520	0.2312	0.0670	0.2949
Husband's ethnicity					
Korean	0.3901	0.1992	0.3248	0.0610	0.0248
American	0.2142	0.1306	0.2538	0.0941	0.3074
Have relatives who own or manage a business in the U.S.?					
Yes	0.3375	0.2143	0.3381	0.0571	0.0530
No	0.3797	0.1645	0.3091	0.0981	0.0486
No. of relatives in the U.S.					
0	0.3167	0.2097	0.3487	0.0789	0.0460
1	0.3674	0.1871	0.3212	0.0718	0.0525
5	0.5166	0.1029	0.2004	0.0427	0.0774
8	0.7047	0.0573	0.1226	0.0252	0.0903
Expect discrimination in the U.S.?					
Yes	0.3539	0.1932	0.3260	0.0751	0.0518
No	0.4039	0.1689	0.3301	0.0521	0.0449

age (25 years), self-employment had the lowest probability and increased thereafter (with minor fluctuations). Increasing age showed a monotonic decline in the proportion expecting to be white-collar workers. On the other hand, age did not affect expectations of working in blue-collar occupations or in any kind of job. Predictably, the proportion of women expecting to be nonworkers increased with age.

The effect of husband's ethnicity on occupational choice was the same as that found for Filipino women. Having a husband from the same ethnic group was related to higher probabilities of expecting to work in all occupations.

A relative's ownership or management of business in the United States reduced the probability of expecting self-employment but otherwise in-

creased the probability of expecting white-collar and blue-collar occupations. However, the size of an immigrant's family network, as indicated by the number of immediate relatives already in the United States, led to a different pattern of occupational choices. The more relatives Korean women had, the greater the likelihood of their expecting to be self-employed. A comparison of these findings with the determinants of occupational choice for Korean men, presented below, will clarify these results.

The relationship between the perception of discrimination and occupational choice seems to run counter to the idea that minorities are compelled to enter self-employment because of discrimination in the wider society. For Korean women, the probabilities resulting from the multinomial logit analysis show that those who expected to experience discrimination were less likely to expect to be self-employed than those who did not anticipate being discriminated against. Moreover, more of those who expected to experience discrimination expected to enter white-collar occupations, compared with those who did not anticipate discrimination. White-collar occupations as defined here also included sales and clerical occupations, which are the usual occupations found in the ethnic economy. Thus, even if Korean immigrant women expected to be discriminated against, their employment chances might not be hurt as long as they expected to work in the ethnic economy.

As for Filipino and Korean men, Tables 18 and 19 present the determinants of their expected types of occupations in the United States. In a pattern similar to that observed for women, most Filipino men expected to find jobs in the white-collar and blue-collar sectors, whereas the choices for Korean men included self-employment as well. Three predictors—education, language, and age—affected both groups of men in a similar fashion. With more education and better language skills, the proportion expecting to find white-collar occupations increased whereas the proportion in blue-collar jobs declined. Although increasing age was associated with lower probabilities of expecting white-collar occupations, there were only slight differences between those at or younger than 40 and those at age 50. Variations of expecting blue-collar occupations by age were less uniform for the two groups. At older ages, the proportion of Filipino men expecting to work in blue-collar occupations was not substantially lower than that of younger men, indicating that Filipino men expected to be in the labor force for a long time. For Korean men, the proportion expecting blue-collar occupations dropped progressively beyond age 30. The specific effects of other variables on the occupational expectations of the two groups are discussed separately below.

Predicting expected occupations from preimmigration occupations revealed sizable shifts. Among Filipino men, the largest proportion of immigrants from all occupational backgrounds expected to enter blue-collar occupations, suggesting that the flexibility of blue-collar occupations made

Table 18. Predicted probabilities of expecting a given type of occupation: Filipino immigrant men, IPDA, 1986

Covariate	Self-employed	Employed, white-collar	Employed, blue-collar	Employed, any job	None
Education (in years)					
6	0.0130	0.0234	0.8301	0.1131	0.0203
10	0.0309	0.1112	0.7186	0.1174	0.0219
15	0.0562	0.4818	0.3711	0.0760	0.0149
Language					
1	0.0378	0.0918	0.7578	0.0813	0.0313
5	0.0403	0.1743	0.6553	0.1077	0.0224
10	0.0381	0.3389	0.4766	0.1336	0.0128
Age					
25	0.0214	0.1993	0.6549	0.1164	0.0080
30	0.0286	0.1958	0.6485	0.1145	0.0125
40	0.0506	0.1858	0.6249	0.1090	0.0298
50	0.0856	0.1690	0.5776	0.0994	0.0683
Preimmigration occupation					
Self-employed	0.1040	0.2519	0.5597	0.0777	0.0067
Employed, white-collar	0.0629	0.2192	0.6090	0.0960	0.01[illegible]
Employed, blue-collar	0.0368	0.1844	0.6406	0.1148	0.02[illegible]
Not employed	0.0209	0.1506	0.6539	0.1331	0.04[illegible]
Have relatives who own or manage a business in the U.S.?					
Yes	0.0796	0.2536	0.5832	0.0708	0.0127
No	0.0340	0.1759	0.6434	0.1231	0.0236
Expect discrimination in the U.S.?					
Yes	0.0374	0.2233	0.6684	0.0384	0.0325
No	0.0396	0.2050	0.6561	0.0739	0.0253

it an attractive starting point of their work experience in the United States.

Having relatives who owned or managed a business in the United States appeared to enhance Filipino men's prospects for white-collar occupations and for self-employment among the few who expected to start their own businesses. Those without relatives involved in business tended to expect to find blue-collar or unspecified employment. Thus, although family networks may facilitate white-collar employment, for Filipino men without such networks, occupational prospects lay mainly in the blue-collar sector.

Expecting discrimination in the United States, though found to be a significant predictor, hardly differentiated the probability of expecting specific occupations for Filipino men.

Table 19. Predicted probabilities of expecting a given type of occupation: Korean immigrant men, IPDA, 1986

Covariate	Self-employed	Employed, white-collar	Employed, blue-collar	Employed, any job	None
Education (in years)					
6	0.2988	0.1579	0.5104	0.0223	0.0106
10	0.2961	0.2180	0.4481	0.0274	0.0104
15	0.2799	0.3122	0.3643	0.0340	0.0095
Language					
1	0.2511	0.2382	0.4464	0.0510	0.0133
5	0.3281	0.3130	0.3348	0.0173	0.0068
10	0.4021	0.3864	0.2050	0.0039	0.0025
Age					
25	0.1651	0.2863	0.4966	0.0485	0.0035
30	0.2213	0.2836	0.4495	0.0395	0.0060
40	0.3656	0.2558	0.3384	0.0242	0.0160
50	0.5267	0.2011	0.2222	0.0129	0.0371
Preimmigration occupation					
Self-employed	0.4322	0.2859	0.2621	0.0169	0.0028
Employed, white-collar	0.3308	0.2814	0.3545	0.0264	0.0069
Employed, blue-collar	0.2372	0.2595	0.4493	0.0386	0.0154
Not employed	0.1589	0.2236	0.5321	0.0529	0.0325
Have relatives who own or manage a business in the U.S.?					
Yes	0.3220	0.3168	0.3326	0.0172	0.0115
No	0.2192	0.1969	0.4950	0.0820	0.0071
No. of relatives in the U.S.					
0	0.3190	0.2991	0.3500	0.0212	0.0107
1	0.3036	0.2866	0.3735	0.0260	0.0103
5	0.2389	0.2321	0.4650	0.0554	0.0086
8	0.1899	0.1885	0.5215	0.0929	0.0071

Many of the patterns just described apply equally well to the occupational expectations of Korean men. One significant departure from the Filipino pattern is the higher probability of expecting self-employment among Korean men.

As already mentioned, Korean men with more years of education were more likely to expect white-collar employment and less likely to expect blue-collar employment than were men who had fewer years of education. Such clear-cut distinctions were not evident for those expecting self-employment, however; both the less educated and the highly educated had about the same likelihood of expecting to be self-employed (Table 19).

English proficiency increased the probability of expecting self-employment among Korean men, contrary to what has been suggested by other studies (e.g., Min 1987; Yu 1983; Cobas 1987). Perceived discrimination could be one reason why the relatively well educated and the fluent in English were more inclined than others to start a business in the United States rather than pursue their former professions. Among Korean men, however, the perception of discrimination was not a significant predictor of occupational choice. An alternative explanation could be that those who scored high on human capital resources were also those who had access to capital and other resources and were thus in a better position to start a business.

Age was associated with specific occupational patterns among Korean men. Those expecting to be in white-collar occupations did not differ much by age; those expecting to be in blue-collar occupations were more likely to be younger; and those intending to be self-employed tended to be older.

Expected occupations of Korean men were predicted to some extent by their preimmigration occupations. As was true for Filipino men, blue-collar workers expected the smallest degree of occupational shift, a finding that attests to the transferability of skills and requirements for blue-collar occupations. Expected self-employment in the United States was predicted most strongly by having a self-employment background in Korea.

For Korean men, having a relative who owned or managed a business in the United States was associated with a higher probability of expecting to enter a white-collar occupation, and with a lower probability of expecting to enter a blue-collar one.

Interestingly, two indicators of family network—having relatives with business connections and size of family network—had different effects on the self-employment expectations of Korean men and women. On one hand, having a relative with business connections improved men's expectations of going into business for themselves but reduced women's expectations of doing so. On the other, having a larger number of family members in the United States made women more likely to expect to be self-employed but men less likely to have such expectations. Perhaps these results reflect women's and men's differential access to resources. A resource such as information may be filtered to immigrants along gender lines—job information for men, housing and school information for women (Boyd, n.d.). Information about business opportunities may be more directed at men than at women, hence improving their occupational prospects. Having more relatives may work more to the advantage of women by assisting them in their roles as wife, mother, and worker.

DISCUSSION

The preceding analysis underscores the relevance as well as the limits of gender in studying the migration experience of women and men. Gender-

linked differences in the causes and consequences of migration have led some researchers to develop a specific focus on women in migration (e.g., Fawcett, Khoo, and Smith 1984; Boyd 1986; Bretell and Simon 1986; Thadani and Todaro 1984). Others, however, have argued that the study of migration cannot emphasize gender because other factors such as class or ethnic background also bear on the determinants and outcomes of migration (Leeds 1976; Morokvasic 1983).

The results of this study suggest that although occupational expectations differ for immigrant women and men, in certain instances shared ethnicity or their common status as immigrants supersedes sex differences as a determinant of occupational plans.

Regardless of their status as family immigrants, immigrant women were as strongly motivated as immigrant men to work in the United States, although the percentage increase in the proportion of women who expected to work after immigrating to the United States was steeper than the increase among men. Across all subgroups, the majority of immigrants expected to work at service occupations. On such matters as when to start working or expected duration of first job, Koreans tended to have more definite ideas than Filipinos. Within national groups, fewer gender differences emerged among Filipinos than among Koreans.

Human capital and life-cycle indicators were significant in determining women's expectation of working. Human capital in the form of work experience (among Korean women) and having skills appropriate for jobs in the United States (among Filipino women) increased the probability of expecting to work. The effects of life-cycle variables (except age) on work expectation highlighted conditions unique to women. Among Korean women, having preschool children lowered the probability of expecting to work. In both groups of women, the husband's ethnicity had the greatest effect on work expectation; women married to men from the same ethnic background were much more likely to expect to work than were women married to American men. The importance of women's economic contributions in immigrant families explains this discrepancy. Historically, wives of immigrant men have been part of the work force because immigrants receive lower wages than do the native-born and therefore the need for multiple wage earners is greater in immigrant families.

For Filipino but not for Korean women, having social resources in the United States in the form of an immediate family significantly affected the probability of expecting to work, albeit in an unexpected direction—that is, by reducing instead of increasing the probability of expecting to work. A plausible explanation is that family support lessens the pressure on immigrant women to work.

Results from the multinomial analysis of occupational choice suggest that gender can be a basis of both similarities and differences. Although the data refer to expectations, they resemble closely the patterns of occupa-

tional adjustment observed for Filipinos and Koreans in the United States: toward paid employment for Filipinos and toward paid employment and self-employment for Koreans (Mangiafico 1988:64, 100). Among the predictors, education and age affected the occupational choices of all immigrants (Filipino and Korean, male and female) in the same fashion. For those with more years of education, the probability of expecting a white-collar occupation was higher, whereas that of expecting blue-collar occupations was lower, than for those with less education. As age increased, the probability of expecting white- or blue-collar employment diminished.

The other predictors—English proficiency, preimmigration occupation, having relatives with businesses in the United States, the size of the family network in the United States, and perceived discrimination against immigrants—affected the various subgroups differently. Among the interesting gender differences were the differential effect of having relatives with businesses and the size of the family network on the self-employment propensities of Korean immigrants. Having relatives in business enhanced the probability of expecting self-employment among Korean men but not among Korean women. In contrast, size of family network positively affected the self-employment expectations of Korean women but not Korean men. These findings suggest that immigrant women and men may have access to different kinds of support. Overall, where gender differences emerged, Filipino males and females shared more predictors than did Koreans.

The less pronounced gender differences among Filipinos than among Koreans in their occupational expectations and the determinants of those expectations may be due to the egalitarian values of Filipino society. In the Philippines, the doors to education, occupation, and public office are open to women as well as men. More women than men even have university degrees, and consequently women are also more prominent than men in the professions (Castillo 1979:142). In contrast, the public sphere in Korean society is more clearly defined as the preserve of men, and men have more access to educational and occupational opportunities than women. Although one would expect widespread female labor force participation in a rapidly industrializing country such as the Republic of Korea, only single Korean women are encouraged to work (Kim and Hurh 1985; Koo 1983). Korean women are valued most in their roles of wife and mother. Hence the gender differences in the occupational expectations of Korean immigrants are a reflection of the differential access of Korean men and women to opportunities for participation in the public sphere in their society of origin.

If immigrants' expectations are a preview of things to come, how do those of the IPDA sample compare with the occupational patterns of Filipinos and Koreans already in the United States? In general, the IPDA, immigrants' expectations closely approximated the occupational outcomes

observed for Filipino Americans and Korean Americans. According to 1980 census data, Filipino American women have the highest labor force participation rate of all ethnic groups, at 68 percent, surpassing even that of white American women; similarly, Korean American women workers are also visible in the labor force, with 55 percent economically active (Gardner et al. 1985). But even higher proportions of women in the IIDA sample (76 percent among Filipino women and 83 percent among Korean women) expected to join the U.S. labor force. Their expectations may have seemed overly optimistic, especially so for Korean women. But if those expectations were linked with the women's occupational prospects, landing a job in the United States may not have been a far-fetched idea after all. With their modest expectations geared toward jobs in the service sector, it was highly likely that the great majority would obtain employment in the United States.

The expectations data also capture accurately the major paths of occupational adjustment charted by Filipinos and Koreans in the United States. Much like their predecessors, the incoming Filipino immigrants generally expected to enter paid employment, whereas a substantial proportion of the Korean immigrants expected to engage in entrepreneurial ventures.

The absorption of Filipinos into paid employment and the prominence of Koreans in small businesses have often been linked to the different levels of English proficiency of the two groups. Filipinos, with their extensive exposure to and training in English, can presumably enter paid employment with relative ease. This advantage, however, does not guarantee that Filipinos obtain jobs that are commensurate with their education and occupational experience. Despite their fluency in English, other factors, such as having a Filipino accent, could limit their job access to production or service occupations that do not require language skills.

One explanation for the concentration of highly educated Koreans in small businesses is the so-called disadvantaged-position thesis, which holds that Koreans' poorer command of English bars many of them from pursuing their professions in the United States (Park et al. 1990:84). Unlike Filipinos, for whom English is a second language, most Koreans are not immersed in it in their home country, and difficulty with English becomes a major problem for them when they move to the United States. Kept out of the paid employment sector by their lack of English proficiency, many turn to the ethnic economy as an employment alternative. The analysis presented in the current study, however, indicates that Korean immigrants do not choose self-employment because they are disadvantaged linguistically—in fact, just the opposite. Korean men with high levels of English ability were more likely than the less proficient to expect to be self-employed; similarly, Korean women who did not expect to experience discrimination were more likely to expect to be self-employed in the United States than those who thought they would be victims of discrimination.

As if to brace themselves for the occupational dislocation that was to come, many immigrants with work experience anticipated downward oc-

cupational mobility in the United States. The experience of Asian Americans in general suggests that they might well face downward mobility. Various studies indicate that most Asian Americans are overeducated for the occupations they enter. For example, analyzing the relationship between education, occupational prestige, and income for Asian Americans, Barringer, Takeuchi, and Xenos (1990) found that whereas highly educated Asian Americans also have high occupational prestige, their higher prestige scores do not necessarily lead to higher income. Neither Asian Americans' lack of assimilation nor their deficiency of human capital seems to explain the income disparity between them and whites. Instead, racial discrimination, directed especially against new immigrants and women, seems to be a more plausible explanation.

For the short term, immigrants' expectations seem to be consistent with the occupational experience of Filipinos and Koreans in the United States. Over time, however, this consistency may diminish. The focus of concern, which was initially to find employment, could shift to occupational prestige and income parity with longer residence in the receiving society. One reason, as suggested by the human capital approach, is that immigrants accumulate greater resources (e.g., greater language fluency or job skills), which encourage them to search for more lucrative job opportunities. As immigrants become more established in their adopted country, their points of reference are also likely to change. In the years immediately following their arrival in the new country, the immigrants may still look to the old country as the yardstick of their new experiences. Occupational prestige, for example, may not be that important to them initially because whatever decline they experience in occupational prestige may be offset by a higher income in the new country. Later, disparities between education and work experience on the one hand and occupational prestige and income on the other may become more evident as immigrants turn more toward dominant groups in their adopted country as their reference groups.

This study has found remarkable similarities in the occupational expectations of immigrant women and men, at least initially. Over time, however, is it realistic for them to expect to have similar occupational attainments? Whether the determinants and the tempo of occupational mobility have a gender dimension has not been ascertained as yet because existing studies have focused on single-sex analysis of immigrants' occupational experience. Future research can examine such basic questions as whether sex differentials in occupational prestige and income widen over time, which factors account for these differentials, and whether men and women with comparable human capital characteristics undergo the same process of occupational mobility. Answers to these questions would increase understanding of how immigrant groups overcome the initial disadvantages posed by their status as foreigners and clarify the prospects for occupational mobility for immigrant women and men.

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